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LEGENDS

OF

S A I N T S W I Ð H U N

AND

SANCTA MARIA ÆGYPTIACA

WITH

PHOTOZINCOGRAPHIC

FACSIMILES.





# GLOUCESTER FRAGMENTS.

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I.

FACSIMILE

OF SOME LEAVES IN SAXON HANDWRITING

ON

SAINT SWIÐHUN,

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PHOTOZINCOGRAPHY

AT THE

ORDNANCE SURVEY OFFICE, SOUTHAMPTON;

AND PUBLISHED WITH ELUCIDATIONS AND AN ESSAY

BY

JOHN EARLE, M. A.

RECTOR OF SWANSWICK;

LATE FELLOW AND TUTOR OF ORIEL COLLEGE AND PROFESSOR OF ANGLOSAXON  
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

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LONDON:

LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMAN, AND ROBERTS.

1861.

Let them His Great Name  
Extol in the dance,  
With timbrel and harp  
His praises express;  
Who always takes pleasure  
His saints to advance,  
And with His Salvation  
The humble to bless.

PSALM CXLIX. *New version.*



## P R E F A C E.

*HALF-A-DOZEN* odd leaves may seem a poor basis to found a book upon. But the same thing assumes a different expression when seen as labour spent in re-setting, and elevating above the reach of immediate accident, some lineaments of a life that has passed away—a life directly related to our own.

The name of *Swiðhun* is one that has never perished from the lips of his countrymen. On examination it will be found to possess not merely a traditional prestige, but also considerable value as an historical key-name. It is so circumstanced as to group unconstrainedly with the most conspicuous names and events in Saxon Church History. Hence it comes to pass, that the little we know of *Swiðhun* personally, is capable of a large amount of expansion and historical illustration. The text here published makes no substantial additions to recorded facts. But hitherto the story of *Swiðhun* has been entirely dissociated from his own mother-tongue. *Swiðhun* has been known to us only thro' Latin chroniclers; we had nothing about him in Anglosaxon\*. Now we have these considerable fragments, on the circumstances, miraculous or ordinary, which attended his 'Translation.' They are in the language of the Augustan age of Saxon, and must have been written in the early years of *Æðelred's* reign. This was the period when the language was at its highest condition of development, and when the books produced in it had the best claim to be called an original literature. Inferior in excellence to those which were based, in whole or in part, upon classic models, they are notwithstanding more useful as samples of the thought and expression of their day. This is the recommendation of the text here offered. It is a genuine product of the mind of the tenth century.

The three leaves concerning *Swiðhun* appear to have been written about 985. They are in good preservation, although two of the pages are much stained

\* The contents of the present facsimiles are entirely new, that is to say, they have never in any shape been published before. I am the more careful to call attention to this particular, because *The Times* of May 25, in a notice on 'Photozincography,' used these words: "Mr. Earle proposes to *republish* an Early Saxon Manuscript by these means," i. e. Photozincography.

and obscured by the binder's paste. The clouded surface of these pages (*viz.* 1 and 3) has caused a variation in the facsimile-ing process. Under photography the paste-marks came out almost as dark as the ink-marks, and it became necessary therefore to have these pages traced by hand. The tracings then passed through the same subsequent treatment as did the photograms of the other pages. All were alike printed from zinc, and hence they are all zincograms; and all, with the exception of the said two, are photo-zincograms.

The three leaves on the story of *S. Maria Egyptiaca* appear to be older, and may belong to the early part of the tenth century. Both the handwriting and the diction give evidence of this higher antiquity.

All we know of the adventures of these leaves, or what has befallen them since the date of their production, is comprised in that brief marginal note on Facsimile 3, "From Abbats Braunche and Newton's Register, Chapter Library, Gloster." Abbat Thomas Braunche was elected in 1500—John Newton, alias Brown, D. D., in 1510.

But this is not a meagre entry. It tells of a native literature that has first ceased to grow, and then ceased to be cared for, while the taste of the nation had set in a new direction. When the English neglected the culture of their own natural speech, out of preference for the foreign French and the artificial Latin, then the stores of Saxon libraries were nothing but waste parchment\*! Happily for posterity, some leaves got encased in book-covers and other lurking-places, hiding there like some obscure chrysalis, till time had clothed them with a new interest and beauty. We may still expect these fragmentary additions to Saxon literature, and they should specially be looked for when mediæval bindings are repaired. Any scrap of Saxon handwriting, however mutilated, is worth preserving, as it may help to complete the sense of other fragments.

The only trace that I have been able to find of the later fortunes of these leaves has been from the Reverend John Webb, Vicar of Cardiff; sometime Minor Canon of Worcester and afterward of Gloucester. The account which he has kindly furnished me, through correspondence with a common friend, is, that more than thirty years ago, as he was searching the Abbatial Registers in the College Library at Gloucester for the purpose of helping Mr. Britton's account of the Cathedral, he met with these fly-leaves in the

\* In an Inventory of Books of Exeter Cathedral, made A. D. 1327, printed in Dr. Oliver's "Bishops of Exeter" (A. D. 1861), there is (p. 309) the following note: Multi alii libri vetustate con-

sumpti Gallicè Anglicè et Latinè scripti qui non appreciantur (i. e. are not priced) qui nullius valoris reputantur.

said Registers, and shewed them to Mr. Bishop, the librarian. He cannot fix the date of this more precisely than by saying, it was probably somewhere about midway between the dates 1819 and 1829. "My imperfect acquaintance with Anglosaxon did not allow me to determine whether they were purely biographical or historical, but we determined that they ought to be put into a more secure condition, and that we would get the opinion of Mr. Sharon Turner upon them. That eminent historian and antiquary was wont annually to pass through Gloucester on his way to some agency in Wales, and we took the next opportunity of his coming to the Cathedral to bring him into the Library, and shew him the leaves; when he at once pronounced them to be portions of an Anglosaxon homily or of homilies. I remember being a little mortified at their not turning out to be more purely matter of history or of biography. What became of them afterwards I am not aware, for after Mr. Bishop's death I searched for them and enquired after them, but could never find them. I had left the Cathedral long before his decease. My notion with regard to them is, that they were found somewhere among the books of the Abbey when the latter were looked over and sent to be bound by order of Dr. Jeune." Both Mr. Webb and Mrs. Bishop recognize the memorandum on Facsimile 3 as the handwriting of Mr. Bishop.

When the Archæological Institute was preparing to hold its Annual Meeting at Gloucester in 1860, notice was taken of a thin portfolio of loose Saxon leaves, and my attention was called to them by Mr. Albert Way, who desired me to make them the subject of a Memoir at the Annual Meeting. By the unexpected degree of interest with which my discourse, before the Institute, was received, and by the friendly urgency of Dr. Bosworth, Professor of Anglosaxon at Oxford, I was led to undertake the present publication.

It has been part of my aim to make this volume serviceable as an Introduction to Saxon Literature. Both in point of language and history, it afforded a good opening for this.

The familiarity of the name of *Swiðhun*, and the purity of the text as a fit specimen of polished Saxon, are both in favour of the same idea. To make the text as easy as possible for the general reader, a 'Literal Translation' faces it, which will be found to indicate the sense of individual words, and obviate the immediate need of a dictionary. Specimens of earlier and of later forms of our language are also comprised—of earlier, in the Fragments on *S. Maria Egyptiaca*; of later, in the *Metrical Life of Swiðhun* (hitherto unpublished). These are most of the essentials for imparting an idea of our ancient mother-

tongue. But Saxon, to be really and concretely known, ought to be known in its own original garb. It is only a second-hand acquaintance with it that we get through modern print. What gives completeness to the present work, and makes it almost a microcosm of ENGLISC, is the *Photozincographic Facsimiles*.

These have been executed at the Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton, under the direction of Colonel Sir Henry James, Royal Engineers; to which Officer, and to Captain A. de C. Scott, Royal Engineers; as well as to all others who have had a share in their production, I wish to express my gratification at the beautiful illustration and solid help which they have afforded for the study of the primordia of the mother-tongue. Students of Saxon will join with me in recognizing and appreciating the care which must have been exercised by the photographer, Corporal Rider; and the printer, Mr. Appel; so as to produce such excellent results. By these means the reader has before him an exact reproduction of the original Saxon writing, not a brief specimen only, but the whole of the extant Saxon text upon *S. Swiðhun*.

A multiplication of trustworthy facsimiles, enabling the student in every region, without a toilsome pilgrimage, to have immediate access to originals, or, at least, the true picture of the original forms—this would be the greatest stride made by literary appliances since the invention of printing. Hitherto, if entire works have been reproduced in facsimile, it has been only by rare and chivalrous efforts of lithography or type-founding, such as *Woide's Codex Alexandrinus*, *Mr. Babington's Two Orations of Hyperides*, and *Professor Bosworth's Orosius*. A taste for the acquisition of such books has not yet been generally cultivated, because their price has rendered them inaccessible. But that there is a desire for a pictured reproduction of ancient books may be proved by the many partial attempts which have been made to publish representations of the chief manuscripts of the *New Testament*. Photozincography may produce a change. Already an example of its capability is before the public, in the *Domesday of Cornwall*. If it would place on shelves of homely deal those treasures of antiquity which are now severed from the studios by considerations of time, travel, and expense—if it would present a dead language to us in forms which it bore when living—if it would relieve us of some of that descriptive annotation which now clogs the heels of our best editions—the result would be an acceleration of the progress and of the diffusion of knowledge; which would render not the learned alone, but the general public, debtors to photozincography.

It has great advantage over simple photography, in regard to the facility with which a number of copies can be printed off. Photograms are made by

*the action of the sun's light, and each copy is the subject of a distinct chemical experiment; whereas photozincograms are multiplied, like newspapers, at each turn of the printing-press. I attempted, at first, to publish these leaves photographically, with the aid of a neighbour and friend who is an excellent amateur photographer. But even with these advantages I found that the expense of printing-off would be a fatal obstacle to the scheme. My thanks are not the less due for the generous assistance afforded me by the Reverend Francis Lockey, in my design to illustrate Saxon literature by the rays of the sun.*

*It remains for me to give an account of one or two particulars. The reader may notice here and there a slight departure from the usage of our established orthography, which may appear to him to be an improvement or the contrary. I only plead that attempts of this sort should not be prohibited as if our orthography were finally settled, but that they should receive fair consideration, and be accepted or discarded according to their merit in each case.*

*In the proper names I have preserved throughout that Saxon letter of the alphabet which our forefathers retained long after they had, with this exception, admitted the Roman characters as preferable to their own. The þ, ð, the old Runic symbol "Thorn"—the Northern Theta (θ)—was gradually dropped amidst the flood of continental fashion that set in after the Conquest; but it ought to be revived even now, either in its original form, or in that of its Latin-sprung representative, Ð, ð. It is hardly more than a generation since "Thorn" became finally extinct. The abbreviation 'ye' for 'the' owed its origin to the genuine 'þe.'*

*I have much pleasure in acknowledging the help which I received from Mr. Stubbs in various parts of the work, and especially on the perplexed subject of canons and monks in our early conventual establishments. And I cannot be satisfied to close this Preface without commemorating the repeated kindness of the Rev. Henry O. Coxe, Bodleian Librarian. Those only who live far from books can estimate the value of a learned friend who is continually in the midst of them.*

SWANSWICK RECTORY,  
October 18, 1861.

# C O N T E N T S.

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## PART I.—ON SAINT SWIÐHUN.

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7 ofer þorht ryþþan. oddæt his pundra sputelodon his  
 ze wælda mid gode; þum ze arum ær þan þe se sanct in to  
 cýrcan wære ze broht of þære stænenan þryh. þe stent  
 nu wíð innan þam mýran ze weorce. com ze arwunda  
 spíðhun to sumum ze lýfedan smíðe on spēne dt eorþende.  
 wíðlice ze slenȝed. 7 þas wost him wæp to; Canst þu  
 þone wrecost þe is ze hāten eadlize. þe wæs of ealdan mýnstre  
 mid þam oðrum wrecostum adwæped. for heora unweapum  
 wurh adelpold wrecost; Se smíð þa andwyrde. þam arwundan  
 spíðhune wif; Ze wýrn ic hine cude leof. ac he ferde heonan.  
 7 ic nat to ze wýrn hwær he wunad nu; þa wæs eft ze  
 halga wer to þam ealdan smíðe; wíðlice he wunad nu  
 on wínel cumbel hamwæst. 7 ic þe nu halsize on þæs hælendes  
 naman. þ þu him min wende arwlice abeode. 7 seze him  
 to wðan þæt spíðhun ze wrecost het þæt he wære to adelpolde  
 wrecoste. 7 seze þæt he ze openize him sylf mine byrgene.  
 7 mine ban ze bringe innan þære cýrcan. for þam þe him  
 is ze wíð þæt ic his timan beo mannum ze sputelod.  
 7 ze smíð him wæp to; Lá leof nele he ze lýfan minum  
 wostum; þa wæs ze wrecost eft; 7 anze he to minne byrgene.  
 7 ateo ane hrinȝan up of þære þryh. 7 wif seo hrinȝe  
 him folȝad dt þam forman tize. þonne wæs he to wðan  
 þæt ic þe sende to him; wif seo hrinȝe nele up wurh his  
 anes tize þonne ne weal he nateshpon þinne wære ze lýfan;  
 Seze him eac wýððan. þæt he sylf ze wíðlice his wæda. 7  
 weapas. to his wíðnes willan. 7 efste anmodlice to þam  
 ecan life; Seze eac callum mannum. þæt wona swa hize  
 owaad mine byrgene. þæt hi wæron þær wíðan swa  
 deorwíðne wost. þæt heora wýrne wold ne wíð nahte wíð  
 wíð þa forne wædan mādmas; Se halga spíðhun þa ferde

fram þam smiðe up : 7 se smið ne dorste recgan þar ze  
 riðe ðinsum menn . nolde beon ze sepen unroðrazol boda ;  
 Hwæt þa se halga wen hine eft ze spræc . 7 sit þriodan  
 riðe . 7 spræc hine þreode . hwi he nolde ze hysumian his  
 hærum mid peorce ; Se smið þa æt nextan eode to his  
 byrgene . 7 ze nām āne hrungan eaphlice swa þeah . “ 7  
 elyode to gode þur credende mid wordum ; Eala þu drihten  
 god . ealra ze wearta scyppend . ze tida mē synfullum  
 hwæt ic ateo þar hrungan up of þyrum hlide . 7 if se līð hwi  
 on innan sepe spræc to on swefne þwipa ; he teah þa hwæt  
 wen upp swa eadlice of þam stane . swilce hit on stāde  
 stode . 7 he spræc þæs pundrode ; he þa hit eft sette on þ  
 ylce hysl 7 þyde mid his fet . 7 hit swa fæste eft stod .  
 hwæt nan mann ne mihte hit þanon ateon ; þa eode se  
 smið ze esod þanon . 7 ze mette on cyrinze þæs eadrigel  
 mann . 7 sæde him ze swilce hwæt sprædhun him be beað .  
 7 bæd hine zeorne hwæt he hit abude him ; he cwæþ hwæt  
 he wolde hit cyðan his hlaforde . 7 ne dorste swa þeah  
 hit recgan æt fruman . æn þan þe he be sohte hwæt him  
 þearflie nāne hwæt he þæs halgan hæfe for hāle his hlā  
 forde . sæde þa be endebyrtonysse hwæt sprædhun him be  
 beað . þa on seunode se eadriga apelpold þone bircop .  
 7 ealle þa munecas þe on þam mynstre sænon for þam  
 ut dræfe þe heze dyde rið hi . 7 nolde ze hysan þæs  
 halgan be bod . þeah þe se sanet sæne ze swilce him for  
 worulde ; heze beah swa þeah binnan twam gearum  
 to þam ylcan mynstre . 7 munuc weard þurh god . 7  
 þær punode oddæt heze pat of life ; ze bletsod if se  
 ðlmihtiga þeze eadmet þa modigan . 7 þa eadmodan  
 ahwæt to healicum ze þinsum . 7 ze niht læc þa

unroð. 11.

g. f. 19. b.

23.

hwæt 87.

hwæt 87.

hwæt 87.

hwæt 87.

hwæt 87.

hwæt 87.

hwæt 87.

hwæt 87.

hwæt 87.

hwæt 87.

hwæt 87.

sýnfullan . 7 sýmle hýlt þa soðan þe on hine ð hihtrað .  
 for þam þe he hæled is ; Eft þær sum eapum ceopul egeslice  
 ze hopenod . 7 þearle ze biged . þurh þone bradan hopen .  
 þam pearð ze sputelod on spefne ze piflice . þæt he weolde  
 ze peccan æt spidhunes byrgene his lichaman hæle . 7 þære  
 alefednyffe ; he arar þa on mefzen miclum fægninge .  
 7 mid tram quecum queap him to pinceastre . 7 ze sohte  
 þone sanct spá þa him ze sæd pæs : biddende his hæle  
 ze bigedum ceopum ; He pearð þa ze hæled þurh þone  
 halgan bireop . spá þæt næf ze sýne sýððan on his hincze  
 hpan se hopen stode þe hine ze hefzode oddæt ; þa  
 nýrton þa munecas be þam marian halgan . 7 þendon  
 þæt sum oðer halga ze hæle þone mann . ac se ceopul  
 sæde þæt spidhun hine ze hælde . for þam þe he sylf  
 pifte ze pifost be þam ; Sum þer þær ze untrumod  
 spife yfelum broce . spá þæt he eapfodlice þa eazan  
 undýde . 7 un eade mihte aniz þofz ze cpeþan . ac læs  
 spá ze angsomod oppene his lifer ; þa þoldon his frýnd  
 ealle hine þerian to nýran mýnstrre to þam halgan iudocce  
 þæt he him hæle for zeape . ac him sæde sum mann þæt  
 him selfe þære þæt hi to ealdan mýnstrre þone adligan  
 þeredon to spidhúntf byrgene . 7 hi spá dýdon þona ;  
 Hi þacodon þa þa niht pif þa byrgene mid him . biddende  
 þone ælmihtigan soð . þæt he þam adligan menn his hæle  
 for zeape . þurh þone halgan spidhun ; Se un truma eac  
 þacode oddæt hit þolde dazian . þa pearð he on flæpe .  
 7 seo purðfulle byrgen þær þe him eallum þuhite eall  
 bifigende pæs . 7 þam adligan þuhite spilce man his anne  
 weo of þam fet atize . 7 he faplice apoc ; He pæs þa  
 ze hæled þurh þone halgan spidhun . 7 man sohte

þone freo spide geornlice . ac hine ne mihte nan mann  
 ze metan þær æfre . 7 hi ze sendon þa ham mid þam  
 ze hæledan menn ; þær purdon ze hælede æt þære  
 halgan byrgene eahta untrume menn . ær þam þe he  
 of þære byrgene up ze numen þære pundorlice þurh  
 god ; Eadgar cyning þa æfter þysum tænum . polde  
 þæt ze halga þer purde up ze don . 7 spræc hit to  
 adelpolde þam arpurðan bisceope . þæt he hine upp  
 adyde mid arpurðnyrre ; þa ze bisceop adelpolde mid  
 abbodum 7 muncum dyde up þone sanct mid sanze  
 purðlice . 7 bæron into cyrcan se petres hupe . þær  
 he stent mid purðmynre . 7 pundra ze fremad ; þær  
 purdon ze hælede þurh þone halgan þer feoper þann  
 hale menn binnan þrum dagum . 7 zeond þif monðas  
 feara daga þæron . þæt þær næron ze hælede huru  
 þry untrume . hþilon þif . odde rix . seofon . odde  
 eahta . tyn . odde twelf . rixtyne . odde eahtatyne ;  
 Binna tyn dagum þær purdon tra hund manna ze  
 hælede . 7 swa þela binna twelf monðum . þæt nan  
 man hi ze tellan ne mihte ; Se licum læs apylled mid alefe  
 dum mannam . swa þæt man eade ne mihte þæt  
 mynster ze recan . 7 þa ealle purdon swa pundorlice  
 ze hælede binna feara dagum . þæt man þær findan  
 ne mihte þif un hale menn of þam micclum heape ; On  
 þam dagum þæron on sihtlance þreo þif . þa tra þæron  
 blinde zeond niȝon zeara fæc . 7 þæt þrode ne ze seah  
 þære sunnan leoh ne æfre ; hi be zeaton þa earfoðlice  
 him æne latteop æne dumbne cnapan . 7 comon to þa  
 halgan . 7 æne niht þær sacodon . 7 purdon ze hælede  
 ze þa blindan þif . ze se dumba latteop ; þa se ðe se

recto

fo 52 b. &  
& 49. a. b  
& 48. a.  
Tytton. 43.

hƿæt þu sƿmanna . nu þu manna heortan miht spá  
 armeagan ; þa cwæþ se halga spíðhun . ic com se ðe nú  
 nisan com . swilce he spá cwæde . ic wæs ge swutelod nú  
 nisan ; þa cwæþ se bēdnyda to þam bircowe eft . hu  
 eart þu ge haten . 7 se halga him cwæþ to ; þonne þu  
 cymst to rincartre þu wast minne naman ; Se mann  
 searð þa ge broht to his bedde eft sona . 7 aƿoc of slæpe  
 7 wæde his ƿif ealle þa ge siþe þe he ge seƿen hæfde ;  
 þa cwæþ þæt ƿif him to . þæt hit wære spíðhun se ðe hine  
 læste . mid þære halgan læste . 7 þone þe he ge seah on þære  
 cýrcan swa fæstme ; heo cwæþ þa to þam wære . hit wære  
 nú full god þæt man þe wære to cýrcan . 7 þu bæde þone  
 halgan þæt he þe ge hælde . ƿurh his halgan ge cýrcunge ;  
 Hine man bær þa sona of þam bedde to cýrcan innan  
 ƿihtlande . 7 he searð ge hælde sona ƿurh þone ælmihtigan  
 god . for <sup>man</sup> spíðhūnes ge cýrcungum . 7 eode him þa hām  
 hāl on his fotum . se ðe an wæs ge boren on wære to  
 cýrcan ; He ferde eac sƿððan to <sup>pm</sup> ceartre for wæde .  
 7 eode adelƿolde þam anƿurþan bircowe . hu he searð  
 ge hælde ƿurh þone halgan spíðhun . 7 landferð se  
 ofer sawira hit ge sette on leden ; Nu is us to ƿitenne  
 þæt we ne weolon ceƿan ealles to sƿiðe be swefnum . for  
 þan þe hi ealle ne beoþ of gode ; Sume swefna sƿndon  
 soƿlice of gode . swa swa we on bocum wædað . 7 sume  
 beoþ of deofle to sumum swiedome . hu he þa sawle  
 for wæde . ac his ge dƿimor ne mæt dƿian þam godum  
 siþ hi hi bletiað 7 hi ge biddað to gode ; þa swefna  
 beoð sƿnsome þe ge ƿurþað of gode . 7 þa beoð cƿesfulle  
 þe of þam deofle cumað . 7 god sƿlf for beað þæt we  
 swefnum ne folgion . þy læt þe se deofol us be dƿian

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maȝe; Sum mann on pinceaſtne pearð yppre hið  
 þeopanmann for ſumere ȝymelearte. 7 ȝe ſeate hine  
 on fetere; he ſæt þa ſpa lanȝe on þam laðum beindū  
 oððæt he be ſtæl ut mid hið ſtæfe hoppeȝende. 7 ȝe  
 ſohte þone ſanct ſpīðhun mid ȝeomepungȝe; Se ſeȝtelſ  
 þa aȝeet ſona of þære fetere. 7 re þeopa aȝaȝ ahnedo  
 þurh þone halȝan; Sum mann pær ȝe būnden on būtan  
 þæt heafod for hið hefeȝum ȝylte. ȝe com to þam  
 halȝan. 7 hið ſpāra heafod beind ſona to bæriſt ſpa  
 he hine ȝe bæd; Ne maȝe þe aȝpitan ne mid þōpðum  
 aȝeȝan. ealle þa pundra þe ſe halȝa þer ſpīðhun þurh  
 ȝod ȝe fremode on þær folceſ ȝe rihe. ȝe onȝe hæftū.  
 ȝe on unhalum mannum. mannum to ſpūtelungȝe þæt  
 hi ſylfe maȝon ȝoder riçe ȝe eȝarnian mid ȝoðum þeopcu  
 ſpa ſpa ſpīðhun dȝd. þe nū riñþ þurh pundra; Seo  
 ealde cȝnce pær eall be hanȝen mid cȝnceum. 7 mid  
 cȝeopera ſreamelum fram ende oð oþerne. on æȝðerum  
 paȝe. þe þær pundon ȝe hælede. 7 man ne mihte ſpa  
 þeah maclan hi healfe up; þȝyllice tȝcna cȝpað þæt  
 criſt iſ ælmihtȝ ȝod. þe hið halȝan ȝe ſpūtelode  
 þurh ſpilce þel dæda. þeah þe þa iudeȝcan þurh deofol  
 be ſpicene nellon ȝe lȝfan on þone lȝfȝendan ȝod.  
 ær þan þe antecriſt aȝeald biþ þurh ȝod. þonne  
 būȝað þa eȝarniȝaſ on ende þiſſere worulde þe þær  
 to lafe beoð. mid ȝe leapan to criſte. 7 þa ænȝan  
 loȝað þe æn notdon ȝe lȝfan; þe habbað nū ȝe ræd  
 be ſpīðhūne þur ſceoplice. 7 þe ſeȝað to roðan.  
 þæt ȝe tȝcna pær ȝe ſælȝ. 7 þȝnſum on anȝel, <sup>ȝinne</sup> þa þa  
 eadȝan cȝnintȝ þone criſten doim ȝe þȝnðode. 7 ſela  
 munuclȝfa aȝeȝde. 7 hið cȝne riçe pær þunȝende onſibbe.

THE TEXT

WITH A LITERAL TRANSLATION

AND NOTES.

and ofer worht syþþan; oððæt his wundra swutelodon his  
 gesælða mid Gode: Þrim geárum ær þan þe se sanct in to  
 cyrcan ware ge broht of þære stænenan þrýh. þe stent  
 nú wið innan þam níwan ge weorce. cóm se arwurða  
 Swiðhun to sumum gelyfedan smiðe on swéfnæ æt eowigende 5  
 wurðlice geglenged. and þas wórd him cwæþ tó; Canst þu  
 þone preost þe is geháten Eadsige. þe wæs of Ealdan mynstre  
 mid þam oðrum preostum adræfed. for heora ún þeawum  
 þurh Aðelwold bisceop; Se smið þa andwyrde þam árwurðan  
 Swiðhune þus; Ge fýrn ic hine cuðe leóf; ac he ferde heonon 10  
 and ic nat to gewissan hwar he wunað nú; þa cwæþ eft se  
 halga wer to þam ealdan smiðe; witodlice he wunað nú  
 on Wincecumbe hámfæst. and ic þe nú halsige on þæs Hælendes  
 naman. þæt þu him mín ærende ardlice abcóde: and sege him  
 to soðan þæt Swiðhun se bisceop hét þæt he fare to Aðelwolde 15  
 bisceope. and secge þæt he geopenige him sylf mine byrgene;  
 and mine bán ge bringe binnan þære cyrcan. for þam þe him  
 is getiðod þæt ic on his tíman beo mannum geswutelod;  
 and se smið him cwæþ tó: La leóf nele he gelyfan minum  
 wórdum; þa cwæþ se bisceop eft: Gange hé to minre byrgene. 20  
 and atéo ane hringan up of þære þrýh; and gif seo hringe  
 him folgað æt þam forman tige. þonne wát hé to soðan  
 þæt ic þe sende to him: gif seo hringe nele up þurh his  
 ánes tige. þonne ne sceal he nateshwon þinre sage gelyfan;  
 Sege him eac syððan. þæt he sylf ge rihtlæce his dæda. and 25  
 þeawas. to his drihtnes willan. and efste ánmodlice to þam  
 écan life; Sege eac callum mannum. þæt sona swa hí ge  
 openiað mine byrgene. þæt hi magon þær findan swa  
 deorwurðne hord. þæt heora dýre góld ne bið nahte wurð  
 wið þa fore sædan mādmas: Se halga Swiðhun þa ferde 30



and closed over afterwards; until his miracles displayed his influence with God. Three years before the saint into church was brought from the stone coffin (which stands now within the new edifice) came the venerable Swiðhun to a decrepit-old smith, in dream appearing, worshipfully apparelled. And these words to him did speak; Knowest thou the priest that is hight Eadsige, that was of Old-minster with the other priests ejected, for their misconduct, by Aðelwold bishop? The smith then answered the venerable Swiðhun thus: Long ago I knew him, Sire! but he departed hence and I know not with certainty where he liveth now. Then replied the holy man to the old smith: Of a surety he dwelleth now at Winchelcombe settled. And I thee now entreat by the Saviour's name, that thou to him my errand quickly announce, and say to him for a truth that Swiðhun the bishop bade that he should go to Aðelwold bishop, and say that he himself open my burial-place, and bring my bones within the church. For that to him is vouchsafed that I in his time should be made known to men. And the smith said to him: Oh, Sire! he will not believe my words. Then quoth the bishop in reply; Let him go to my burial-place, and draw a ring up out of the coffin: and if the ring yields [*lit.* followeth him] at the first tug, then wot he for a truth that I sent thee to him. If the ring will not up by his singlehanded tug, then shall he not in any wise believe thy saying. Say to him eke further, that he himself rectify his deeds, and conduct, according to his Lord's will, and hasten singleheartedly to the eternal life. Say eke to all men, that as soon as they open my burial-place, that they may there find so valuable a hoard, that their dear gold will be nought worth in comparison with the foresaid treasures. The holy Swiðhun then went

fram þam smiðe up; and se smið ne dorste secgan þas ge  
 silðe ænigum menn. nolde beon gesewen unsoðsagol boda;  
 Hwæt þa se halga wer hine eft ge spræc. and gīt þridan  
 siðe. and swiðe hine þreade. hwī he nolde ge hyrsumian his  
 hæsum mid weorce; Se smiþ þa æt nextan eode to his 5  
 byrgene. and ge nām āne hringan earhlice swa þeah; and  
 elyþode to Gode þus cweðende mid wordum; Eala þu drihten  
 God. ealra gesceafta scyppend. getiða mē synfullum  
 þæt ic atcō þas hringan up of þysum hlide. gif se lið hēr  
 on īman se þe spræc to me on swēfna þriwa; he teáh þa þæt 10  
 isen upp swa eaðelice of þam stāne. swilce hit on sānde  
 stóde. and he swiðe þæs wundrode: he þa hit eft sette on þæt  
 ylee þyrl and þýde mid his fēt. and hit swa fæste eft stód;  
 þæt nān mann ne milte hit þanon atcōn; þa cōde se  
 smið ge egsod þanon; and ge mette on cýpinge þæs Eadsiges 15  
 mann: and sæde him ge wislice hwæt Swiðhun him bebeád;  
 and bæd hine georne þæt he hit abude him; he cwæþ þæt  
 he wolde hit cyðan his hlaforde. and ne dorste swa þeah  
 hit secgan æt fruman; ær þan þe he beþohte þæt him  
 þearflic nære þæt he þæs halgan hæse forliæle his hlá- 20  
 forde. sæde þa be endebyrðnysse hwæt Swiðhun him be  
 beád. þa on scunode se Eadsige Apelwold þone bisceop;  
 and ealle þa munecas þe on þam mynstre wæron for þam  
 údræfe þe he gedyde wið hí. and nolde ge hýran þæs  
 halgan be bod. þeah þe se sanct wære ge sybb him for 25  
 worulde; he ge beáh swa þeah binnan twam geárum  
 to þam ylean mynstre; and munuc wearð þurh God. and  
 þær wunode oððæt he ge wát of lífe; geblotsod is se  
 Ælmihtiga. þe ge eaðmet þa mōdigan. and þa éaðmodan  
 ahefð to healicum geþingþum; and ge riht læcð þa 30

from the smith up. And the smith durst not tell the vision to any man. He would not be looked upon as an untruthful news-teller. So then the holy man spake to him again; and yet a third time; and severely chided him, for that he would not obey his commands actively. The smith then at last went to his burial-place; and took hold of a ring—timidly however; and cryed to God thus saying with words: Oh! thou Lord God; of all creatures the Creator, grant to me sinful that I may draw this ring up out of this lid, if he lyeth here within who spake to me in dream thrice. He drew thereupon the iron up as easily *out* of the stone, as if it on sand *had* stood; and he vehemently thereat wondered. He then re-placed it in the same socket and pressed it to with his feet. And it so fast again-stood that no man might draw it thence. Then went the smith awe-struck therefrom, and met in the market that (same) Eadsige's man, and said to him precisely what Swiðhun enjoined him (Eadsige), and prayed him earnestly that he would report it to him (Eadsige). He said that he would declare it to his lord. And he dared not however say it at first—until he reflected that for himself it would not be desirable that he should conceal the saint's behest from his lord. He said then consecutively what Swiðhun on him enjoined. At that time the (said) Eadsige used to shun Apelwold the bishop, and all the monks that were in the minster, because of the ejection that he did upon them. And he would not obey the saint's order; though the saint was related to him in worldly *kindred*. He retired however within two years to the same minster, and became a monk by God's mercy. And there he dwelt until he departed out of this life. Blessed is the Almighty, who humbleth the proud; and the humble He exalteth to lofty dignities; and He correcteth the

synfullan. and symle hylt þa godan þe on hine ge hilitað;  
 for þam þe he hælend is; Eft wæs sum earm ceórl egeslice  
 ge hoferod. and þearle ge biged; þurh þone brádan hofer.  
 þam wearð ge swutelod on swefne ge wislice. þæt he sceolde  
 ge feccan æt Swiðhunes byrgene his lichaman hæle. and þære 5  
 alefednyse; He arás þa on mergen micclum fægnigende;  
 and mid twam ericcum creáp him to Winceastre. and ge solhte  
 þone sanet swa swa him ge sæd wæs; biddende his hæle  
 ge bigedum encowum; He wearð þa ge hæled þurh þone  
 halgan bisceop; swá þæt næs ge sýne syððan on his hriege 10  
 hwær se hofer stóde þe hine ge hefgode oððæt; þa  
 nyston þa munecas be þam mæran halgan. and wéndon  
 þæt sum oðer halga ge hælde þone mann; ac se ceórl  
 sæde þæt Swiðhun hine ge hælde. for þam þe he sylf  
 wiste ge wissost be þam; Sum wer wæs ge úntrumod 15  
 swiþe yfelum brocc. swá þæt he earfoðlice þa eágan  
 undyde. and ún eaðe mihte ænig wórd ge cweþan. ac læg  
 swa ge angsumod orwene his lifes; þa woldon his frynd  
 ealle hine ferian to níwan mynstre to þam halgan Iudóce  
 þæt he him hæle for geáfe; Ac him sæde sum mann þæt 20  
 him sélre wære þæt hi to ealdan mynstre þone ádligan  
 feredon to Swiðhunes byrgene. and hi swá dydon sona;  
 Hi wacodon þa þa niht wið þa byrgene mid him. biddende  
 þone ælmihtigan God. þæt hé þam ádligan menn his hæle  
 for geafe. þurh þone halgan Swiðhun; Se ún truma eác 25  
 wacode oððæt hit wolde dagian. þa wearð hé on slæpe;  
 and seo wurðfulle byrgen þæs þe him callum þulhte eall  
 bifigende wæs. and þam ádligan þulhte swilce man his ænne  
 sceó of þam fét atúge. and he færllice awóc; He wæs þa  
 ge hæled þurh þone halgan Swiðhun. and man solhte 30

sinful, and constantly supports the good who hope in Him; forasmuch as He is the Saviour. Again, there was a poor *ceorl* awfully hump-backed, and painfully bowed together, through the broad hump. To him was made known in sleep, with certainty, that he was ordained to recover at Swiðhun's burial-place his body's health, and (relief) of the infirmity. He arose accordingly in the morning much exulting, and with two crutches crept to Winchester, and sought the saint just as to him was said; praying for his health with bended knees. He was thereupon healed through the holy bishop; so that it was not visible afterwards on his back where the hump stood that had oppressed him previously. At that time knew not the monks about the glorious saint; and they weened that some other saint had healed the man. But the *ceorl* said that Swiðhun had healed him, forasmuch as he himself wist with most certainty about the matter. A certain man was disabled with a very evil ailment, so that he with difficulty his eyes opened, and hardly could he any word utter—but he lay so tormented despairing of his life. Then intended his friends all to convey him to New-minster to the holy Iudoc that he might give him health. But a certain man told them that for them were better that they to Old-minster the invalid carried to Swiðhun's burial-place. And they so did soon. They watched then that night by the tomb with him, praying the Almighty God, that He to the sick man his health would grant, through the holy Swiðhun. The infirm man also watched until it was about to dawn. Then he fell on sleep, and the worshipful tomb—as to them all seemed—all rocking was. And to the sick man it seemed as if one of his shoes were being tugged off from his foot. And he suddenly awoke. He was then healed through the holy Swiðhun. And they sought

þone secó swiðe geornlice. ac hine ne mihte nán mann  
gemétan þær æfre. and hi ge wendon þa háam mid þam  
ge hǣledan menn; þær wurdon ge hǣlede æt þære  
halgan byrgene eahta úntrume menn: ær þam þe he  
of þære byrgene up genumen wære wundorlice þurh 5  
God; Eadgar cyning þa æfter þysum tǣnum. wolde  
þæt se halga wer wurde up ge dón: and spræc hit to  
Aðelwolde þam árwurðan biscoope. þæt he hine upp  
adyde mid árwurðnyse; þa se biscoop Aðelwold mid  
abbodum and munceum dyde up þone sanet mid sange 10  
wurðlice. and bǣron into cyrean sçe Petres hūse. þær  
he stent mid wurðmynte. and wundra ge fremað; þær  
wurdon ge hǣlede þurh þone halgan wer feower wann-  
hále menn binnan þrim dagum. and géond fíf monðas  
feáwa daga wæron. þæt þær næron ge hǣlede huru 15  
þrý úntrume; hwilon fíf. oððe syx. seofon. oððe  
eahta. tyn oððe twelf. syxtyne. oððe eahtatyne;  
Binnan tyn dagum þær wurdon twa hund manna ge  
hǣlede; and swa fela binnan twelf monðum. þæt nan  
man hi ge tellan ne mihte; Se líetun læg afylled mid alefe- 20  
dum mannum. swá þæt man eaðe ne mihte þæt  
mynster ge sécan. and þa ealle wurdon swa wundorlice  
ge hǣlede binnan feáwa dagum: þæt man þær fíndan  
ne mihte fíf ún hale menn of þam micclum heápe; On  
þam dagum wæron on Wihltlande þreó wíf. þa twa wæron 25  
blínde geond nigon geára fæc. and þæt þridde ne ge seah  
þære sunnan leoht næfre; hi be geaton þa earfoðlice  
him ænne latteow ænne dumbne enapan: and comon to þam  
halgan. and áne niht þær wacodon. and wurdon gehǣlede  
ge þa blíndan wíf: ge se dúmba latteow; þa sǣde se 30

the shoe very diligently. But no man was able to find it there ever. And they returned then home with the healed man. There were healed at the holy tomb eight infirm men, before that he from the tomb up-taken was; miraculously through God. King Eadgar then after these tokens, willed that the holy man should be translated, and spake it to Aðelwold the venerable bishop, that he should translate him with honourable solemnity. Then the bishop Aðelwold with abbots and monks raised the saint with song solemnly. And they bare him into the church S. Peter's house, where he stands in honoured memory, and worketh wonders. There were healed through the holy man four invalided men within three days. And during five months few days were there, that there were not healed at least three infirm persons—sometimes five or six—seven or eight—ten or twelve—sixteen or eighteen. Within ten days there were two hundred men a' healed—and so many within twelve months, that no man could reckon them. The burial-ground lay filled with diseased men, so that one easily could not the minster visit. And these all were so miraculously healed within a few days that you could not there find five infirm men of that large crowd. In those days there were in the Isle of Wight three women. Two of them were blind during nine years' space, and the third saw not the sun's light never. Then gat they with some difficulty for themselves a guide a dumb boy. And they came to the saint; and one night there they watched. And they were healed, both the blind women, and also the dumb guide. Then said the

hwæt þu sy manna. nu þu manna heortan miht swā  
 asmeāgan; þa cwæp se halga Swiðhun. Ic eom se ðe nū  
 nīwan cōm. swilce he swā cwæde. ic wæs ge swutelod nū  
 nīwan; þa cwæp se be dryda to þam biscope eft. Hu  
 eart þu ge hāten. And se halga him cwæp tō; þonne þu 5  
 cymst to Winceastre þu wast minne naman; Se mann  
 wearð þa ge broht to his bedde eft sona. and awōc of slæpe  
 and sæde his wīfe ealle þa ge sihþe þe he ge sewen hæfde;  
 þa cwæp þæt wif him tō. þæt hit wære Swiðhun se ðe hine  
 lærde; mid þære halgan lāre. and þone þe he ge seah on þære 10  
 cyrcan swa fægerne; Heo cwæp þa to þam were; Hit wære  
 nū full gōd þæt man þe bære to cyrcan. and þu bæde þone  
 halgan þæt he þe ge hælde. þurh his halgan ge eārnunge;  
 Hine man ber þa sōna of þam bedde to cyrcan binnan  
 Wihtlande; and he wearð ge hælde sona þurh þone ælmiltigan 15  
 God; for <sup>man</sup>Swiðhūnes ge eārnungum. and eode him þa hām  
 hāl on his fōtum. se ðe ær wæs ge boren on bære to  
 cyrcan; He fērde eac syððan <sup>Win</sup>to ceastre for raðe.  
 and cydde Aðelwolde þam ārwurþan biscope. hu he wearð  
 ge hælde þurh þone halgan Swiðhun. and Landferð se 20  
 ofer sēwisa hit ge sette on Leden; Nu is ūs to witenne  
 þæt we ne secolon cēpan ealles to swiðe be swefnum. for  
 þan þe hi ealle ne beoþ of Gode; Sume swēfna syndon  
 soþlice of Gode. swa swa we on bōcum rædað. and sume  
 beoþ of deofle to sumum swic dome. hū hē þa sawle 25  
 for ræde. Ac his ge dwimor ne mæg derian þam gōdum  
 gif hi hi bletsiað. and hi ge biddað to Gode; þa swefna  
 beoð wynsume þe ge wurþað of Gode. and þa beoð egesfulle  
 þe of þam deofle cumað. and God sylf for bēad þæt we  
 swēfnum ne folgion. þy læs þe se deofol ūs be drian 30



what thou mayest be of men; seeing thou canst men's hearts so penetrate. Then quoth the holy Swiðhun: I am he who now newly came! As if he had thus said; I was manifested now recently. Then quoth the bewitched man to the bishop in reply; How art thou named? And the saint quoth to him: When thou comest to Winchester thou shalt know my name. The man was then brought to his bed eft-soon, and awoke out of sleep and said to his wife all the vision which he had seen. Then said the woman to him, that it were Swiðhun, he who him had instructed, with the holy lore, and the man whom he saw in the church (in person) so fair. She quoth then to the man: It were now full good that one bore thee to church, and that thou should pray the saint that he should heal thee, through his holy merit. Him they bore then soon from the bed to church in the Isle of Wight; and he was healed soon through the Almighty God, for Swiðhun's merits. And he departed then home whole on his feet, he who before was borne on a bier to church. He went moreover afterwards to Winchester speedily, and announced to Aðelwold the venerable bishop, how he was healed through the holy Swiðhun. And Landferð the transmarine recorded it in Latin. Now is it for us to know that we should not care over-much about dreams; for as much as they be not all of God. Some dreams are verily of God, even as we read in books; and some be of the devil for some delusion, (seeking) how he the soul may seduce. But his sorcery cannot harm the good if they bless themselves, and pray to God. Those dreams be cheerful which come of God; and those be horrible that of the devil come. And God himself forbade that we by dreams should not be guided, lest the devil us (to) bewitch

mage. Sum mann on Winceastre wearð yrre his  
 þeowan menn for sumere gymeleaste. and ge sette hine  
 on fetera. He sæt þa swa lange on þam laðum bēndum  
 oððæt he be stæl út mid his stæfe hoppegende. and ge  
 sōhte þone sanct Swiðhun mid geomerunge. Se scyttels 5  
 þa ascēt sona of þære fetere. and se þeowa arás abredd  
 þurh þone halgan. Sum mann wæs ge būnden on būtan  
 þæt heáfod for his hefegum gylte. se cóm to þam  
 halgan. and his swára heáfod bēnd sona to bærst swa  
 he hine ge bæd; Ne mage we awritan ne mid wordum 10  
 asecgan. calle þa wundra þe se halga wer Swiðhun þurh  
 God ge fremode on þæs folces ge sihþe. ge on ge hæftúm.  
 ge on unhálum mannun; mannun to swutelunge þæt  
 hi sylfe magon Godes ríce ge cārnian mid gōdum weorcum  
 swa swa Swiðhun dyde. þe nū scīnþ þurh wundra; Seo 15  
 ealde cyrce wæs eall be hangen mid criccum. and mid  
 crēopera sceamelum fram énde oð oþerne. on ægðerum  
 wáge. þe þær wurdon ge hælede. and man ne mihte swa  
 þeah macian hi healfe up; Þyllice tǣcna cýþað þæt  
 Crist is ælmihtig God; þe his halgan ge swutelode 20  
 þurh swilce wel dæda. þeah þe þa Iudeiscan þurh deofol  
 be swicene nellon ge lyfan on þone lyfigendan God.  
 ær þan þe Antecrist a cweald biþ þurh God. þonne  
 búgað þa carmingas on ende þissere þorulde þe þar 25  
 to láfe beoð. mid ge leafan to Criste. and þa ærran  
 losiað þe ær noldon ge lýfan: We habbað nū ge sæd  
 be Swiðhúne þus sceortlice; and we secgað to soðan.  
 þæt se tíma wæs ge sælig. and wynsum on Angel cymme. þa þa  
 Eadgar cyning þone Cristen dóm ge fyrðrode. and fela  
 munuclífa arærde. and his cyne ríce wæs wunigende on sibbe. 30

have power. A man in Winchester was angry with his serf-man for some carelessness, and he put him in fetters. He remained there so long in the loathed bands until he stole out with his staff hopping, and sought the saint Swiðhun with lamentation. The bolt then shot at once out of the fetter, and the serf arose, extricated through the saint. A certain man was bound about the head for his heavy guilt. He came to the saint, and his burdensome headband soon burst asunder as he prayed. We cannot describe nor with words narrate all the wonders that the holy man Swiðhun through God performed in the sight of the people, as well on prisoners, as on diseased men—for a manifestation to men, that they themselves may God's kingdom earn with good works just as Swiðhun did, who now shineth through wonders. The old church was all hung around with crutches, and with cripples' stools from one end to the other, on either wall, that there were healed: and they could not even-so however put half of them up. Such-like tokens declare that Christ is Almighty God; Who His saint demonstrated through such benefits. Although the Jews by the devil deluded will not believe on the living God, before that Antichrist shall be killed through God. Then shall bow the wretched creatures, at the end of this world, who there(until) remaining shall be, with faith to Christ; and the former (generations) shall perish who ere would not believe. We have now said about Swiðhun thus shortly; and we say in sooth that the time was happy, and winsome in Angel-cyn, then when king Eadgar furthered Christendom, and many monasteries erected, and his kingdom was dwelling in peace.



## NOTES

### TO THE FOREGOING TEXT.

Page 2, line 10. The name of our saint is **Swiþ hun** or **Swið hun**. The first syllable is the adjective **swið**=validus, strong, bold: the second syllable **hun** is obscure. It is not unfrequent in names of the eighth and ninth centuries. There is Hunferð, Sax. Chron. 744. In Codex Diplomaticus we find, Æðellun, No. 235; Eadhun, 239; Ræðhuni, Hunred, 240. We have also, in the tenth century, Aldhun, bishop of Lindisfarne—and the names Berthun, Andhun, and Hun, brought together by Bouterwek in his elaborate Preface to the Four Northumbrian Gospels, p. cxxxvi. He there suggests an etymology—"bedentet **hun** centurio, wie das alts. **hunno**?"

Page 2, line 14. **ardlice**] Not a common word, but it is found in Joshua ii. 5. "efstap nu ardlice," where the Vulgate has "persequimini cito." Also in the Homily on the Depositio Sti Cuthberti: "and his nama þe bið ardlice geeydd"=and his name shall *soon* be made known to thee. It seems to be rightly referred to that ἀπαξ λεγόμενον in Judith 275 (Thorpe's Analecta, p. 150 a): "sum to ðam **arod**," aliquis adeò audax, where Grein renders "entschlossen."

Page 4, line 15. **on cypinge**] in the market-place. This word is preserved in such names as Chipping Norton, Chippenham, &c. (formed on the analogy of the Roman 'Forum Julii,' &c.), probably of places which had their origin in the selection of their sites for interchange or sale of products, at an early date. Of the same kind is Copenhagen,

written in Danish Kiöbenhavn, and pronounced by the Swedes precisely as we pronounce Chippenham.

Page 4, line 15, 16. þæs **Eadsiges mann** "Eadsige's man"] This expression could not be avoided where the aim was to keep the version as close as practicable to the text. But it is misleading, without a word of explanation. It means not his personal attendant, *valet* or manservant, but one of his serfs or villains, part and parcel of the premises of that *ham* in which he was settled, or as above expressed, *ham-fest*; at Winchecombe. For I do not understand from the text that Eadsige had attached himself to the *monastery* at Winchecombe.

Page 4, line 24. **for þam utdræfe þe he gedȳde wið hi**] Saxon Chronicle A. 964.

Page 4, line 26. **for worulde**] This expression is most frequently found coupled thus: "for Gode and for worulde," which means "spiritually and temporally."

Page 6, line 2. **ceorl**] This word cannot be translated into modern English. It still continues to exist in a totally different and degenerate sense, in the form *churl*. The **ceorl** was the Saxon freeman, who had not land enough to be a *thane*. The Saxon gentry were *eorlisc*; and the mass of free-born people, *ceorlisc*. E. g. Alfred's Laws, Cap. 4. § 2. Swa we eac settað be eallum hadum, ge eorle ge eorle—i. e. "So we lay down the law for all degrees, gentle and simple." The subject is fully discussed in Hallam's Middle Ages, vol. ii. note iii.

Page 6, line 2—15. All this paragraph is semi-rhythmical and alliterative, and may be divided into lines as poetry.

Eft was sum earm ceórl  
 egeslice ge hoferod.  
 and þearle ge biged;  
 þurh þone brádan hofer.  
 þam wearð ge swateled  
 on swefne ge wislice.  
 þæt he secolde gefecean  
 æt Swiðhunes byrgene  
 his lichaman hæle.  
 and þære alefednysse;  
 He arás þa on mergen  
 micclum fægningende;  
 and mid twam ericeum  
 creip him to Winceastre.  
 and ge sohte þone sanet  
 swa swa him ge sæd wæs;  
 biddende his hæle  
 gebigedum eneowum;  
 He wearð þa gehæled  
 þurh þone halgan bisceop;  
 swá þæt næs gesýne  
 syððan on his hriegen  
 hwar se hofer stóde  
 þe hine gehefgode oððæt;  
 þa nyston þa munecas  
 be þam mæran halgan.  
 and wéndon þæt sum oðer halga  
 gehælde þone mann;  
 ac se ceórl sáde  
 þæt Swiðhun hine gehælde.  
 for þam þe he sylf wiste  
 ge wissost be þam;

Page 6, line 5. **hæle. and þære**] There is here an omission, which is remedied by the insertion of the word “relief” in the translation. Or, it may be, that *hæle*, by an untranslatable zeugma, governs both *lichaman* and *alefednysse*.

Page 6, line 6. **micclum fægningende**] *μεγαλῶς χαίρων*. *fægning*=to rejoice, exult,—whence that in the Psalms, “My lips shall be *fain*, &c.”

Page 6, line 7. **creap him**] This (*him*=*sibi*) is untranslatable. Verbs of motion often take a dative of their subject after them, and thus are reflexive.

E. g. *gewat him*, *code him* (*moz*, p. 10, l. 16), he departed, he went. I know not whether “go along *with you*” is an offset of this idiom.

Page 6, line 17. **þa eagan undyde**] *un-did* his eyes.

I could not venture to render this literally in the translation, it seemed a little too incongruous.

Page 6, line 19. **Iudócc**] The history of this saint may be read in the *Acta Sanctorum*, or in a more abridged form in *Ordericus Vitalis*, B. iv.

Judoc was son of Juthail and brother of Judicail, both British kings, in the middle of the seventh century. He abruptly left his lessons at “Lanmailmon,” to join a party for pilgrimage to Rome. But Haimo duke of Ponthieu, who knew him, stopped him on the road, and made him his chaplain. Then follow miracles in his life-time, as a prelude to the miraculous discovery of his body in the tenth century, at which time Isembard, a monk of Fleury, wrote *S. Judoc's Life*, and a monastery was founded in his name on the banks of the river Canche, near Montreuil-sur-mer, a few miles south of Boulogne—at a place since called from *S. Judoc*, *S. Josse-sur-mer*. The narrative in *Ordericus* excludes the possibility of a translation of the relic to Winchester, which is notwithstanding recorded in the poorest of *Saxon Chronicles* (MS. F.) as having taken place in the year 903, together with the consecration of the New Minster. There appears from the text to have been considerable rivalry between *S. Swithun* and *S. Judoc* (i. e. between the Old and New Minsters at Winchester), but the foreign celebrity was unable to cope with the native saint.

Page 8, line 24. **heape**] The word **heap** is no longer used in English of a crowd of *persons*, but its analogue, the German **Hauf**, is so used.

Page 8, line 26. **ne geseah þære sunnan leht næfre**] We now say that two negatives destroy one another, or are equivalent to an affirmative. But it was not always so in the English language, which anciently was accustomed to the double negative, almost as much as the French of the present day, with its *ne—pas*, *ne—point*, &c.

Page 10, line 1. Between this and the former page one or more leaves are missing, and to mark the discontinuity I have changed the notation, from figures to letters—and Y Z are chosen to signify that this leaf is the closing one of the Homily.

Page 10, line 4. *be dryda*] Ettmüller, p. 292, has *bedrida*, *clivicus*, referring to Ælfric's Glossary, 9. Yet I take this to be the participle of the verb *be drian*, to bewitch, fascinate: cf. bottom of the same page. Probably it has been the parent of such expressions as *bed-ridden*, *be-ridden*, *hag-ridden*, &c.

Page 10, line 16. The "man" written over the line, in a later hand, is unmeaning. Possibly it was discontinued abruptly, and the word designed may have been *manigfealdlicum*.

Page 10, line 18. *ceastre*] It was a natural omission for the scribe, to leave out the syllable *Win*. Each chief city was in the tenth century apt to be styled the *ceaster* (i. e. *castrum*) of its own country. Thus in the Chronicle 964 we observe Winchester is still *Ceaster*: under 685, York is called *Caster*; and one of our provincial capitals has retained this title fixedly, viz. *Chester*.

Page 10, line 20] *Landferð se ofersæwisca*, "Landferð from over the sea," *transmarinus*. He appears to have been a monk of the Old Minster in the days of Æþelwold, to whom he might have been a sort of Latin secretary or historiographer: cf. Mr. Wright's excellent 'Biographia Britannica Literaria,' Anglosaxon Period, p. 469.

Page 10, line 22. *be swefnum*] The opening lines of Chaucer's Romaunt of the Rose illustrates both the words and the thought:

Many menne sain that in *sweveninges*,  
There n' is but fables and lesinges:  
But menne may some *sweren* secne,  
Which hardely that false ne becu,  
But afterward ben apparaunt, &c.

Page 12, line 10. *he hine gebæd*] *hine-gebiddan* is a reflexive verb, = *to pray*.

Page 12, line 18. *wáge*] We have now no other word

but *wall* to render *wah* or *wag*, which is the nominative of "wáge;" but in Saxon times both words existed, *wah* for the side of a building which was of timber, and *weal* for the more solid structure of stone or earth. With the growth of the practice of building dwelling-houses of stone, the word *wah* went out of use, and *wall* alone remained. A trace however of *wah* remains in 'wainscot,' which meant the planking for the sides of a chamber, *quasi*, for *þam wagum*; and of which a wrong etymology is given in Richardson. Cf. Diefenbach, vol. i. p. 147.

Well-furnished houses were hung with curtains along the *wah*, which were called *wah-hrægel*, *wah-rift*. This was to keep out the draughts inseparable from fabrics of timber, and hence sprung the domestic pursuit of working tapestry, and the manufacture of 'Arras' hangings.

Page 12, line 28. *ge sælig*] happy. This identical word still exists in English, but in a degenerate sense, as, "silly." Compare Dean Trench, "Study of Words," p. 45.

Page 12, line 28. *Angel cynne*] Yet this is not an Anglian but a Saxon Homily, and the king whose times are lauded, was a Saxon king, not Anglian. The Saxons called their nation *Angel-cyn* and their speech *Englisc*. This shews what an influence the Anglian superiority of the seventh and eighth centuries had exercised over the island. The four western counties are called 'Weal cyn' as late as king Alfred's time. Cod. Dipl. 314.

Page 12, line 30. *on sibbe*] So closes this neat summary of the felicities of Eadgar's reign with the word which was proverbially associated with him, he was "Eadgar the Peaceful" entering into the peaceful fruition of the dignities acquired for him by a series of warlike progenitors. Yet the title is not due to this fact, however justified by it. It sprang from the change felt under the reign of his 'unready' son Æðelred, which made men remember with regret the time when under king Edgar the kingdom dwelt in *peace*.





AN ESSAY  
ON THE  
LIFE AND TIMES  
OF  
SWIDHUN.



**SWIÐHUN**, bishop of Winchester, architect, statesman; during life a chief man in his nation, and after death installed as a saint in the Calendar; has dwindled into a myth—*vox et præterea nihil*—a sound ominous of unseasonable rain.

**ÆDELWOLD**, the famous bishop of Winchester, in the most stirring period of the Saxon Church, shews plainly that he was proud to be a successor of Swiðhun. Æðelwold counted it among the chief glories of his preferment that he inherited the mantle of Swiðhun. When Æðelwold reviewed the catalogue of his predecessors in the see of Winchester, from Birinus (A. D. 634) to his own accession (A. D. 963)—next to the singular and unattainable honour of the missionary founder, Birinus—the name most distinguished to his eye was that of Swiðhun, ten years bishop, from 852 to 862. He was in Æðelwold's judgment the model bishop of Winchester, the prelate whose steps he resolved to follow. For Æðelwold, rebuilding his cathedral, and desiring to enrich it with the best relic, made it the resting-place of Swiðhun. He thus ennobled the work he had begun, and gratified his veneration for a name that was dear to him, by enshrining it in perpetual memory and honour. That Swiðhun's name is still current, is due to the reverence of Æðelwold's esteem.

Swiðhun had been 108 years in his humble grave, when he was the cause of a holy-day in Wessex. A grand assembly of men and women of all degrees met at Winchester, on the 15th of July, 971, to convey bishop Swiðhun's *ðryh*\* from without the north side to within the east end of the church.

This public act was the inauguration of the new work, the sainting † of Swiðhun, and the subjection of the cathedral to his celestial patronage. The 'old church' had been styled "ecclesia beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli," commonly called "Petres hus ‡," but from that day forward the fabric of Æðelwold was known as Saint Swiðhun's, and this title lasted until Henry the Eighth ordered the Name of the Holy Trinity to be substituted.

The retention of Swiðhun's name in the popular memory, unaccompanied

\* I use the textual word for the *stone coffin* in which Swiðhun was buried. It is difficult to find a suitable modern word for it, and it may serve as a monument of the revolutions our language has passed through. For this is the word which is now written **trough**.

† The following occurs in a Set of Injunctions, given in Wilkins, p. 84, as "Canones editi sub Eadgaro Rege," No. 29. And we læraþ þæt man innan circean ænigne man ne birige, bute man wite

þæt he on life Gode to þam wel geewemde, þæt man þurh þæt læte, þæt he sy þæs legeres wyrþe. And we direct, that no one be buried within church, unless he be known to have lived in a manner so well-pleasing to God as to form a ground for supposing him worthy of such a resting-place.

‡ Cf. above, p. 8, line 11, and Cod. Dipl. 1033, 1035, 1037, 1038. The name of "Peterhouse" at Cambridge is of like origin.

by any attribute that appeals to the imagination, associated only with a trivial, worn out, and discredited prognostic of the weather, is a phenomenon which the philosopher might turn to some account. In a primitive condition of society such a dismantled effigy would invite fresh embellishments from the rhapsodist, and become the centre of dominant fantasies. But in the nineteenth century its chances of rehabilitation are over, and the only way of investing the relic with a meaning is to recover its antiquarian history.

Confident as I am, that some solid outlines of this history are to be established, I will begin by admitting that we have scarce a word of contemporary record about him \*. His written story dates from his sainting—that is to say, more than a hundred years after his death. Yet that story is not necessarily apocryphal. His relations to conspicuous persons, to permanent institutions, and to leading events, will aid his restoration to history; and we may, in such a case, make more of a few brief notices than could be done without some external setting to receive them.

At the same time I must guard against the tempting but unprofitable exercise of installing a hero into every vacant place wherein his character would seem to fit, and where it is desiderated in order to round off the fragmentary records of the times. There are many places where the absence of a telling name makes itself felt as a sensible void. Here and there opens a vacancy which Swiðhun would admirably fill. Like the Ichnolite of the palæontologist, he may be surmised to have occupied the space which his figure would conveniently fit.

A collector is wanted for the early history of Wessex. We have the fruits of his labours, but we have hitherto enquired in vain for the labourer. Was Swiðhun the man?

A companion is wanted for prince Alfred's infantine progress to Rome; and the instinct of investigators has led them to Swiðhun.

Æðelwulf's grant of title (whatever may have been the purport of that much disputed ordinance) is attributed on all hands—except that silent contemporary pen—to the counsel of Swiðhun.

Who was the intermediary that averted a civil war when king Æthelwulf returned from his pilgrimage to Rome, bringing with him the Frankish princess Judith? He found his eldest son Ethelbald with the warlike bishop Ealhstan of Sherbourne, and Eanwulf the chief of Somersetshire, all confederate against him, and prepared to resist his return. The end was a compromise: Ethelbald kept Wessex, and his father had to be content with the provincial throne of Kent, the secondary government of the realm—*nam occidentalis Saxonie pars semper orientali principalior est* (Asser). Considering the unwise conduct of the king, and

\* Except his *Professio*, which is however a mere formula, and has no personal history in it. The most documentary remains are his signatures in the Codex Diplomaticus.

the cause he had given for dissatisfaction, the threatened danger was happily averted even at the price of such disgrace. The over-mildness of the concession is redeemed by its policy—*nimiâ clementiâ et prudenti consilio usus*, says Asser. And who was this prudent counsellor and successful diplomat, that arranged the quarrel between a jealous parent and a foolhardy son—who but his tutor and “chancellor” and bishop, the man who had known him from first to last, at his best and at his worst, the man whom he delighted to call *altorem et doctorem suum*?

At this rate a history of Saxon times might be produced, gliding along with a fluent circumstantiality, and satisfactory to those who had no suspicion of the flimsy basis on which it reposed. A full and particular history of any epoch might thus be constructed—given only a few names and dates and scraps of events.

On the other hand we might throw up the task of writing Swiðhun’s history as a thing impossible. It is certainly an inauspicious fact that his name is not even mentioned in the contemporary annals. Meagre as these annals may be, the utter absence of his name in annals written in or about his time, and in his city, seems to assign him to unredeemable oblivion. We might easily conclude that Swiðhun was of more importance after death than during his life-time, and that his posthumous celebrity had risen from some caprice of the people or policy of the rulers, in a subsequent age.

But in truth there is a middle course. Without magnifying the value of extant documents, or disdaining them for their poverty, we may endeavour by laying out fairly the circumjacent pieces of history, to appreciate the relative position of the morsels which concern Swiðhun. The true way to compensate the want of circumstantiality in our historical documents, is not by completing the picture from fancy, but by studying how the fragments ought to stand to each other in direction and distance.

The main particulars recorded of Swiðhun may soon be told. Swið-hun was born near Winchester, probably about the year 800. He became a monk of the Old Abbey of Winchester, and rose to be prior of that brotherhood. Ecgberht, who was then king, chose him for præceptor to his son Æthelwulf, the heir to the throne of Wessex. In a charter of Ecgberht, Anno 838\*, we find the signature of ‘Swiðhunus diaconus’ close after that of ‘Elmstan episcopus.’ In the year 852 this bishop Elmstan or Helmstan died, and Swiðhun became bishop of Winchester. In this dignity he shewed that constructive taste and ability which has from time to time shone conspicuous in bishops of Winchester. The bridge which he built by the east gate of the city

\* Codex Diplomaticus, No. 1044.

appears to have struck his contemporaries as a very emblem of permanence with its piers and arches of stone. He was king Æthelwulf's chief counsellor in matters of religion and in the arts of peace, as Ealhstan, bishop of Sherbourne, was prime adviser and chief commander in war and foreign affairs. He outlived Æðelwulf, and did good to Æðelbald. His death was probably in 863. Not earlier, for we have his signature under that date\*. He was buried—his particular request—in a vile place, under the eavesdroppings, outside the church on the north. There he lay till the third quarter of the following century, when he was exhumed for translation and beatification by bishop Æthelwold, in the days of archbishop Dunstan.

Thus Swiðhun touches upon two salient points of Saxon history. His story rests, at its distant extremes, upon Ecgberht and Æthelwulf's great reigns at one end, and upon the eminence of Dunstan's epoch at the other. It is not requisite here to strain history or make forced combinations. The historian's passion for grouping his eminent characters, here enjoys its legitimate exercise and gratification.

Our disquisition about Swiðhun will divide itself naturally into two groups, consisting of, first, the personages with whom he was connected in life; secondly, those who bore a part, directly or indirectly, in his translation and sainting. If to this be added a view of his hagiology, or what traces his sainted has left in literature and folk-lore, our disquisition will be complete.

Let us at once strike the date 800 A. D.

In continental history this figure signifies the age of Charlemagne, and the new order of things which he introduced. He overran much of Europe with his victorious arms; he brought under one throne many minor sovereignties, and embraced them all in one comprehensive system of legislation. He first gave tithes a *legal* basis; he it was who set up the Papacy upon that pedestal of temporal power from which we now seem to see it tottering to its irrecoverable fall. Having conquered and organised a great empire, and having exhibited his power over a still wider area, he seemed to have laid the foundations of an era full of peace, prosperity, and progress. To his descendants he might appear to be about to leave little more than the office of occupying the seat of power and guiding the reins of administration. Never were probabilities more contradicted by the events. His wise organisation was rent asunder by a succession of internal wars, arising out of the quarrels of his own children. Whatever wealth or comfort had been obtained by local industry was wasted and scattered by the destructive inroads of the Northmen. It is said of Charlemagne that when first he saw the Northern ships entering the waters of Narbonne, he

\* Codex Diplomaticus, No. 1059.

wept with the prophetic anticipation that they were destined to demolish much of the fabric that he had laboured to erect. In the weakness of his own descendants, and the fury of the Northern hordes, the fortunes of the dynasty of Charlemagne were constantly retrograde, and in less than seventy years all its bright promise was extinguished.

The Wessex history of the same period presents the same general outlines in the ascendancy, and a fainter parallel in the relapse.

The date of 800, which gives us Charlemagne, emperor of the Franks, sitting on the throne of Aix-la-Chapelle, shews us Egberht, king of Wessex, enthroned at Winchester. Egberht may be styled our insular Charlemagne. He carried his victorious arms through a great part of this island, and brought under his influence the whole of what we now call England and Wales. But he subjected to his own sceptre only the countries south of the Thames, as Charlemagne's permanent acquisition of territory was limited by the Rhine and Elbe. Egberht's invasion of Northumbria was like Charlemagne's German campaigns, more for the exhibition of power than the conquest of territory. On the continent Charlemagne was emperor; among our insular chieftains Egberht was Bretwalda. Charlemagne associated his son Lewis with him in the government—Egberht placed the young Æðelwulf on the provincial throne of Kent.

The little kingdom of Wessex, consisting of the counties of Hampshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, and a part of Somersetshire (about to the line of the Parret), was now for the first time looked up to as the leading power in the isle of Albion. On its eastern side, the ancient kingdom of Kent, consisting of the counties of Kent, Surrey, and Sussex, was attached as an appanage to the throne of Wessex. On its western side, the 'Weal-cyn' or Welsh country, as it was styled—consisting of Cornwall, Devon, and most part of Somersetshire and Dorsetshire—was in a kind of mutinous unwilling dependency upon Wessex.

The country across the Severn, which we now call Wales, was then 'North-Weal-cyn,' the country of the North Welsh, in contradistinction to the people of Devon and Cornwall, who were the Welsh of the West. These all, as well as the kingdoms of Mercia, East Anglia, Northumbria, and the various little sovereignties that occupied the obscure niches and nooks of the country, were more or less aware of their subordination to the supremacy of the Bretwalda who sat upon his ancestral throne at Winchester.

Egberht had been a man of war, but he educated his son to be a man of peace. The power which he had acquired by military prowess would need to be consolidated by wisdom and policy. The numerous subjects of his house would need instruction and correction, emancipation from the pagan thralldom that was still over their minds, and initiation into the arts of life, temporal as well as

eternal. He committed the education of his son Æpelwulf to the care of Swiðhun, who was then prior of the monastery at Winchester. The prince became attached to Swiðhun with an affection which lasted his life-time. In after years we find him mentioning Swiðhun as "*altorem meum*," = the guide of my youth. Under such a tutor the personal character of the prince would be well cultivated, and his tastes would be well regulated. Swiðhun would never have forgotten to direct his attention to business, to the art of governing, to the importance of industry, as well as to the value of a pure creed and Scriptural learning.

But it is probable that the athletic and military side of a royal education was overlooked at a moment when the country teemed with the military virtues, and when the crying demand was for some addition to the arts of peace. While we are acquainted with the fact that Æpelwulf had Swiðhun for tutor, we are not told that he had any military instructor. But if he really had the training of an ecclesiastic, and if, as writers tell, he really became deacon; it only shews how securely Ecgberht counted that his son's vocation was to improve the opportunities of peace.

The last exploit of Ecgberht's glorious reign was his victory at Hengistes dūn. Many a tourist in his descent from the western brow of Dartmoor, looking over the wide and rich valley of Tavistock, has enquired the name of that broad-backed elevation which rises over against him and confines the other side of the valley. It is "Hingston Down," the field where Ecgberht fought the Danes. The Western Welsh, the Welsh of Kernyw and Dyfnaint, constantly fretting at the encroachments of imperious Wessex, had made an alliance with that wild and savage horde that now began to infest the shores of Britain. The Danes and the Welsh were mustering their forces upon Hengistes dūn! They were preparing to invade the western border of Wessex. Ecgberht appeared, and demolished the design at a blow.

But repeated blows were necessary to protect the country from such an enemy as the Dane. Ecgberht, like Charlemagne, passed off the scene, leaving the sword in feeble hands. The Danes swarmed every where, and left only a wilderness behind them wherever they passed. There was a general desolation, and a general panic. Winchester was plundered. No longer any chance for religion to advance, and learning to flourish—the great necessities of existence are too generally felt to leave room for any other consideration. One hand alone is seen lifted with decision to stay the progress of the general confusion, and that the hand, not of a king, but of a bishop.

The kingdom of Wessex was divided into two bishoprics, the see of Winchester and the see of Sherbourne. The bishop of Sherbourne was Allstan; the bishop of Winchester (not however promoted to that see till some years after Æðelwulf's



accession) was Swiðhun. These two bishops are the props of Æðelwulf's reign. The one in the cabinet, the other in the field, succeeded in preserving the state from impending ruin. Swiðhun has been called the chancellor\*, and Ealchstan the chief general of Æðelwulf. Swiðhun was zealous for the instruction and edification of the people, and for improving their domestic condition;—Ealchstan was bent upon protecting the frontier against the enemy, Dane or Briton. Between these two able and zealous men, Wessex was preserved, though it suffered much. It was kept together, and handed on entire to the hands of young Alfred. The value of these two names, Swiðhun and Alhstan, only then becomes fully apparent, when we remember that they were the leading characters in the court of the father of Alfred. The balanced and doubly qualified character which presents Alfred to us as a master-king, may perhaps without undue indulgence of the imagination, be attributed to the combined example if not instruction, of Alhstan and Swiðhun. Of the two, it is however Alhstan whose influence is most prominent in the tenor of Alfred's life. The foundation of Alfred's greatness—that by which he kept his throne, recovered it when lost, and again maintained it when assailed—is this, that he was a great general. The assertion that he could not read before twelve years old seems only to signify that his early passion was for athletic rather than for literary pursuits.

He had not his match as a keen and successful sportsman—*in omni venatoriâ arte industrius venator incessabiliter laborat non in vanum: nam incomparabilis omnibus peritiâ et felicitate in illa arte, sicut et in cæteris omnibus Dei donis fuit: sicut et nos sæpissimè vidimus*†. He loved his native songs with the ardour of a hunter and a soldier; and while he could not 'pen a line'—*illiteratus permansit*—he had already stored his memory.

He had surely visited Rome in his childhood. The documentary evidence of this fact is irresistible. This visit seems to fall in the very year of Swiðhun's promotion to the see of Winchester. If we suppose that the profit of a visit to Rome, or the pious associations connected with it, disposed Swiðhun to pass a summer in this journey, to receive a benediction on his new office, as metropolitans were already accustomed to sue for their *pallium*, it becomes very easy to understand how Æðelwulf would have seized the opportunity to send his youngest and dearest child, under such tutelage, to the foot of the apostolic throne.

To some it has appeared aimless, this frequent visiting of Rome in the early period of our history. To others it appears scandalous and Popish. But it

\* E. g. in Lord Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors, and many authors before him. Godwin (*De Præsulibus*) censures the title as absurd: "Non desunt qui asserant (satis herelè ridiculè) Angliæ hunc Cancellarium extitisse."

† "In every branch of venery he toils indefa-

tigably, like a steady sportsman, and not without success. For as to skill and good fortune in woodcraft he stood unrivalled; as indeed he did in all the other good gifts of God—and that we have oftentimes witnessed." (Asser.)

should be remembered, that Rome was the mother of the Saxon church, her capital city, to which she looked for instruction in much that pertains to this life, and still more in what belongs to the powers of the world to come. It was not long since the archbishops of Canterbury had been furnished by Rome—before the Saxon church produced men capable of that honour. The family of Wessex maintained a seminary at Rome for the instruction of English students. Rome was, in short, their metropolis. At a critical period in his life, Swiðhun would be specially inclined to visit that city, which he had always hoped he should see once before his death\*.

The culminating point of Swiðhun's policy is visible in a brief passage of the Saxon Chronicle. In 855—the first year of the Northmen's wintering here—king Æðelwulf conveyed the tenth of his land to religious uses. In a part of the annals which is distinctly military and not ecclesiastic in spirit, this is told in words of singular emphasis and approbation. To judge this donation rightly, we must shake off the influence of modern divisions, and see it as a matter of Christianity against barbarism and paganism. The more unstable the times, the more necessary was it to secure a maintenance for the clergy. The king was induced to give the example, which others would probably follow, till at length opinion might be converted into law. So might tithes eventually be established in England, as Charlemagne's wisdom had led him to establish them by law in the Frankish empire. Such appear to have been the views of Swiðhun.

The two bishops of Wessex did a great work, each in his department, and their names ought to be famous. Yet Allstan has passed out of popular recollection a thousand years ago, and he is to be found only in the remote historic page. On the other hand, the name of Swiðhun is as familiar as an old proverb, and for this distinction we have now to account.

For this purpose we must pass over a hundred years in silence, and step into the second half of the succeeding century. In 958 Eadgar ascends the

\* This subject may be illustrated by a passage from a speech of the Bishop of Oxford for the Propagation of the Gospel at Reading, November 14, 1859. Speaking of India the bishop said; "There were great questions to be settled as to the transplanting into the native blood the gifts of the Christian ministry—how those natives are to be trained, where they are to be trained, how they are to be prepared for that work. For himself he believed they ought to bring the most promising youths to a Christian institution in this country, where they might be steeped thoroughly in Christian influences—where, instead of seeing Christian-

ity in their land partially cast over the surface of heathendom, they might see Christianity as Christianity is in a Christian land, where it has been long established, elevating the minds of the people, raising the habits of family life, enlightening and chastening all, the action, the mind, and all the common interchange of social intercourse; so that these natives might be steeped to the very core in those influences of Christendom, and go back each one heated in this way, until they became candescent with Christian life from the centre of a Christian church." (Applause.) (*Times*, Nov. 15, 1859.)

throne of Wessex—"Eadgar the Peaceful." That reign of peace which a hopeful patriot might have anticipated for Æðelwulf in the first half of the ninth century, did at length dawn upon Eadgar in the second half of the tenth.

So long had it taken to subdue all those elements of hostility which prevented the introduction of a peaceful reign. History-books have too generally made the "Heptarchy" dissolve and fade away under Ecgberht, whom they constitute the first king of England. But that title is hardly applicable to any king before Eadgar, whose wherry was rowed by a crew of kinglets on the Dee, and who wrote himself, "King of all England \*!"

Under king Eadgar, Æpelwold, abbot of Abingdon, educated at Glastonbury, was made bishop of Winchester. He stands forth prominently in the history of Eadgar's reign, slightly overshadowed by a taller figure. There is Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, in the middle; with Apelwold, bishop of Winchester, on his right; and Oswald, bishop of Worcester, supporting his left. The grand movements of Eadgar's reign owe their origin to this trio. To them moreover is due the perpetuity of the name of Swiðhun. Their aims and policy must be considered under two or three distinct heads. Their desire was to extend religion, and to banish the remnants of paganism. One of the chief means they chose was the reform and extension of monastic institutions. Such monasteries as were decayed or ruined they restored—such as were degenerate in manners or discipline they reformed—and to this they added the foundation and erection of new monasteries.

Another favourite measure was the celebration of deceased Christian worthies, which were generally presented to public veneration by the process then called "Translation."

A third means, which was in fact only a following up of the second, was that of pious biographies and homilies on the lives and miracles of those persons who by the course of translation had been ranked as *saints*.

The consideration of these expedients will merit a little digression.

Monasticism occupies for ever a grand chapter in the story of the human family. There are some sections of history which cannot be seen in a right

\* Totius Angliæ regionis Basileus—totius Albionis gubernator et rector—rex et primicerius totius Albionis regni. See any of Eadgar's Charters in Cod. Dipl. These forms were already beginning to appear under previous kings, from Aðelstan downwards; but in Eadgar they receive their full expansion. Eadgar was the first king who ordained uniformity in weights and measures. **Be mynetum and gemetum.** And gange an mynet ofer ealne þæs eynges anweald,

and þone nan man ne forsace; and gange an gemet and an gewiht, swilee man on Lundenbyrig and on Wintanceastre healde &c. **Of current coin and of measures.** And a uniform mint is to pass current throughout all the king's dominion, and no man is to refuse it; and there shall be uniform measure and uniform weight, according to that which is established in London and in Winchester &c. Schmid, p. 192. A standard currency was enacted by Aðelstan.

light at all, until monastic institutions shall have received a more just appreciation. And the section before us is one of them.

When a long period of war was followed in England by a short period of tranquillity, the great domestic question which was agitated turned upon monastic institutions. It was in supporting and pushing these to his utmost that Dunstan won the celebrity and the odium which have attached to his name.

Many things are distorted to our eye by the inveterate habit of regarding the Norman Conquest as the first moment of English history worth attention. It seems as if Hume's words were stereotyped upon the English mind; as though his "*obscure and uninteresting period of Saxon annals*" contained a self-evident truth. This has led to a habit of viewing the Saxon period through a false light. Consciously or unconsciously, the reader who having begun at the Conquest has only read downwards, treats that point as if it were absolutely the beginning. He lays there the foundation of his historical *principia*, and begins there the construction of his views upon English history. When a mind so trained is brought to bear upon the anterior period, great confusion results. Saxon history has been habitually read by lights reflected from subsequent periods. This is strikingly apparent in the popular treatment of Dunstan, and in almost all that is written about the monastic life of our Early Church. Through the tacit analogising of that which is unanalogous, monasteries are identified with Romanism, and as Dunstan's policy was to favour the monastic system, Dunstan is made out to have been an ultramontane Roman Catholic! So strong is the tide of concurrent phraseology on this point, that even Lappenberg, who candidly appreciates Dunstan\*, is borne away before it, and calls Dunstan a —

\* "Let us here devote a few words in explanation of our idea of Dunstan. His Christianity was not the religion of love, of blissful delight in the creation, of a spiritual life bound with tender threads to the flowers of earth. Nor was it an unflinching promulgation of the mutual rights of man to be adjusted in the balances of charity, or exemplified in a temporal equality. But the purest and brightest conception, as soon as it enters upon life, is necessarily restricted, confused, obscured by frequent contrarities. It was the licentiousness, ruggedness, and sensuality of the barbarians, which, by its need of control and refinement, elicited from the doctrine of Christ, the papal unity, the clerkly school-divinity, and the rigid monastic discipline. By these Dunstan sought to accomplish the utmost and the best that could be effected in his time; and though

every record of his life should witness against him, yet the influence which his new race of clergy maintained in the country for so many centuries—even in times when the bell of the mass-boy reminded the priest of the name of the obsolete saint—proves that he who, in a time of universal disorder, was able so powerfully to awaken and to combine the more seriously disposed, apprehended and effected the best that was possible with the lights and under the circumstances of his time. We shall soon come to speak of Dunstan's numerous and excellent disciples, and of *their* disciples, who—not to enumerate all they did for the church, civilization, and language of the Anglosaxons—were able to turn the storm that burst upon England from the north into a blessing, and finally, when the Normans had conquered England, maintained so great an attachment to their country,

Römſing. Where such an expression is used, it seems to be forgotten for the moment, how impotent Rome was in the tenth century.

One of the best school-histories of the day treats the monasteries of the *tenth* century as follows: "Mysterious reverence still hung round the  
 "convents, within which such ceaseless prayers were said, and so many relics  
 "exposed, and whither it was also known that all the learning and scholar-  
 "ship of the land had fled for refuge. The doles at monastery doors, how-  
 "ever objected to by political economists, as encouragements of mendicancy  
 "and idleness, were viewed in a very different light by the starving crowds,  
 "who, besides being qualified by destitution and hunger for the reception of  
 "charitable food, had an incontestable right, under the founder's will, to be sup-  
 "ported by the establishment on whose lands they lived. The abbot who  
 "neglected to feed the poor, was not only an unchristian contemner of the  
 "precepts of the faith, but ran counter to the legal obligations of his place.  
 "He was administrator of certain properties left for the benefit of persons about  
 "whose claims there was no doubt; and when the rapacious methods of main-  
 "taining their adherents, which were adopted by the count and baron, were  
 "compared with the baskets of broken victuals, and the jugs of foaming beer,  
 "which were distributed at the buttery of the abbey, the decision was greatly in  
 "favour of the spiritual chief. His ambling mule and swift hound, and hooded  
 "hawks, were not grudged, nor his less defensible occupations seriously enquired  
 "into, as long as the beef and mutton were not stinted, and the liquor flowed in  
 "reasonable streams."

Here we have the conventional portrait of monkish life and character unusually well executed. It is however the stock article, which has been handed on from writer to writer, and without distinction of times it is reproduced wherever monks make their appearance on the stage of Protestant history. It is made up of the satire of Chaucer and the execration of Wiclif, with a dash of scandal from the times of the Reformation. It has its illustration in that popular but sinister picture, "*Bolton Abbey in the Olden Tyme*." Being true in a partial sense, as the dark side of a picture which belongs to the four-

that by their extirpation alone was the Conqueror able to sleep without anxiety in the strong Tower of London.

"True, Dunstan and his supporters took the form for the essence, as all and every reformer and sect-founder have ever done, excepting only One, who taught no form to His disciples, because He knew that every age would impart an expression, a form, and—why shall we not say it?—a mask (necessary, perhaps, for the time) to His

eternal doctrine. But a vital spirit propagates itself through suicidal deception and a succession of metamorphoses: so have Dunstan's spirit and works outlived the Anglosaxon language and dynasty, and even English Catholicism; nor can their influence at the present day be disowned by the Anglican Church, nor even by the Dissenter, or the Quaker, who, like Dunstan, is a resolute enquirer after that which is best." (Lappenberg.)

tenth and fifteenth centuries, it is offered to the reader as a complete and impartial representation of the monachism of the *tenth*.

This error, so far merely a confusion of historical ideas, is next reinforced by a strong religious prejudice. Ever since the Reformation, *Monasteries* and *Lives of Saints* are offensive to the mind of a Protestant. In a great majority, even of educated persons, this repugnance is unqualified by any consideration of the difference of times. The 'Monastery' of the seventh century is equally distasteful with the 'Monastery' of the fifteenth. Yet the one was a rude shelter for self-denying preachers of the Gospel, and hard-living reclaimers of the soil; a winter's bud of our modern civilization. The other was a sumptuous range of buildings, in the most fastidious style of architecture, full of provisions and even luxuries, where men who set up a profession of extraordinary services were only eluding common duties; living lazy and indulgent lives; a' maintaining the formulas of a pompous superstition.

Between the two extremes of the early missionary zeal, and the laxity which precluded the fall of the monastic system, we must admit a vast amount of eminent service rendered to the country by this well-abused institution. It was by the monks that learning was maintained in the country; it was by them that all our history (of their times) was written; they improved agriculture; cleared and drained large tracts of country; they were the medium of communication with the thought of Europe, and through them new ideas and discoveries were introduced into the country; they cultivated the mechanical arts, and it was a monk who made the first clock that was set up in England; they were the hostels of the traveller, the primary schools and hospitals of their neighbourhood, the seminaries for the supply of clergy, of physicians, and (before the upstart of universities) of lawyers also: in short, if you abstract from the history of the country merely the administrative and belligerent elements, all the rest of its life and growth centred round the monasteries.

Experience has led us to the conclusion, that an error lies at the root of the monastic system. A given individual may, like S. Paul, find his true vocation in a life of celibacy: but to found societies upon conditions unwholesome for mankind at large, cannot be true religion. This, we believe, *we* have ascertained. But nothing would be more unreasonable, indeed inhuman, than to apply to the tenth century the standard of the nineteenth, and from the vantage ground of our ripened experience to condemn the aberrations of our forefathers, who, at their own peril, worked out the experiment for us. A sweeping contempt for monasteries, translations, relics, pilgrimages, and processions, is easy work. But to see in these contrivances an honest purpose, and to solve the riddle *how* such methods were deemed means of grace, is both more arduous and more profitable.

The monasteries of the seventh century in England were the missionary

stations from which was propagated our English Christianity. St. Augustine's at Canterbury was the first of them. In the zeal of the early Saxon Conversion, the monastery was the house of regular hours, active habits, frequent prayers, plain food, scant allowance, and diligent labour for the benefit of the people.

It must be allowed that this state of things did not long continue unmixed. Abuse began early. But the abuse of the early times was something quite different from that which is conventionally introduced to blacken the aspect of a monastery. It was not so much the degeneracy of the monastic order, as the intrusion among them of unmonastic persons. It was the usurpation of monastic privileges by wealthy and secular persons, that created the confusion in monkish life which disgraces the first half of the eighth century, and which nearly, if not entirely, extinguished the pure monastic life in England. Princes, perceiving the benefit of encouraging monasteries in their dominions, conferred grants of land upon them, with exemption from all but the most indispensable secular burthens\*. These privileges only encumbered the system they were designed to foster. The advantages were too attractive, and secular persons dragged themselves and their property through the forms of foundation and dedication only to secure their tenure or obtain the immunities. As founders or benefactors they retained the patronage; and made the religious houses their homes—sometimes their second residences or hunting villas—and bestowed the headship upon a member of their family, who was bent upon any thing rather than a 'religious' life. They lived, as in the world, or worse. When English Christianity was not much more than a century old, and when the monasteries were yet (presumably) missionary stations, these were their founders and called benefactors. It seems like a parody of the prophetic words: *Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and queens thy nursing mothers.* The country came to be dotted over with these mongrel institutions, not religious and not secular, till it grew into a proverb—*neque Deo neque hominibus utilia*: good neither for God nor man. And from the same source we learn (viz. the Venerable Bede writing to Ecgberht, archbishop of York)—“*sunt loca innumera, ut novimus omnes, in monasteriorum ascripta vocabulum, sed nihil prorsus monasticæ conversationis habentia.*” “Countless places, as we all know, have got classed as monasteries, without any thing whatever of monastic discipline about them.”

In 745, Boniface, the Apostle of Germany (himself an Englishman of Devonshire), wrote an imploring letter to the king of Mercia, Æthelbald. He begged him to abstain from such abuses himself, and to restrain others. He wrote also to Cuthbert, the archbishop of Canterbury. These letters produced the council of Clovesho, where the liberty of monasteries was asserted. Yet the freedom of election had to be reiterated in 785 at the synod of Cealchythe.

\* See Mr. Pearson's "*Early and Middle Ages of England*," 1861, p. 134.

The forms of oppression varied according to circumstances. In certain cases heavy imposts were laid upon religious houses by way of tribute, and by way of service. The monks were impressed for *corvée*-work. Servants, horses, hounds, hawks of landlords were quartered upon monasteries.

We have been following the best light afforded us in assuming that this state of things prevailed as well in the south as in the north, in British Saxony as well as in British Angle-land. As it was highly injurious, temporally as well as spiritually, we may judge that Wessex was less enervated by it, seeing she bore the Danish shock better than Northumbria. So far we may conclude that it was more markedly prevalent in the latter than in the former. But then this holds good of *every* part and feature of the two countries. Northumbria was in every respect more advanced and developed than Wessex. Northumbria had more civilization than Wessex, more wealth, more power, more religion, more monasteries, and, as a corollary, was more liable to abuses. But there is nothing, as far as I am aware, either in the causes which were at work, or in the conditions of the countries, to suggest that this abuse was confined to Northumbria and not shared by Wessex. Bede's description may be taken as concerning the general abuses of monasticism throughout the island in the eighth century.

Such a struggling existence had the monastic life in England in the period before the Danish troubles—when the country was at peace, or only disturbed by intestine commotions. When the piratical invaders made the country their prey, it was found, more especially in the north, that those who had been strong enough to oppress the monasteries were not strong enough to defend them. The seats of religion drew upon themselves the special fury of the depredators, and they were almost extirpated from the land. Hence the period of gross darkness which follows, and which clouds our view of history now, as it darkened the intelligence of contemporaries then. This is the Danish eclipse of our early history, in which Swiðhun is the single solitary light;—out of which the first rays of illumination display Alfred mastering a desperate position, and winning an imperishable name.

We are all familiar with Alfred's complaint, of the ignorance and incompetency of the clergy. The oft-repeated incident can only be properly understood by connection with the fate of the monasteries. For these were the nurseries of learning. These were now either demolished, or if any were extant in form they had fallen into decay. Absorbed in care for the necessaries of life, their members had succumbed to the general distress, and had almost forgotten those exalted pursuits by which alone they could exert any influence upon the country. Learning had vanished out of the land. In his celebrated circular to the bishops, presenting each see with a copy of his English translation of Gregory's Pastoral, king Alfred dwells on the high state of learning in the



good old times before the land was ravaged. Even in his own youth (he says) Latin books were still abundant. But nobody had translated them into English, and the tradition of knowledge having been interrupted by the violence of the times, learning had perished.

In Alfred himself is begun the resuscitation of the monastic system, for he founded the New-Minster at Winchester, and another monastery at Athelney, the place of his retreat; besides a convent at Shaftesbury.

The corrective which Bede had proposed to apply was this. He would make the religious houses take a greater part in active clerical labours. He would rouse them by directing their thoughts to their original duties, missionary and pastoral. Some of the most competent houses should become the sees of new bishoprics; the monks should choose one of their own members for the new bishop, and thus the episcopate of Northumbria should be augmented.

Less than thirty years after the death of Bede an important innovation in religious discipline was started by a Frankish bishop. Chrodegang, archbishop of Metz, instituted a system of '*canonical*' life, in which the clergy were combined in fraternities after the pattern of monasteries. As the abbot was chief over the monastery, supported by his second in command, the prior—so in the canonical body, the bishop presided, and acted through the archdeacon or dean as his vice-gerent. By this scheme, the clergy were grouped in families, instead of living sparsely among the laity; and they were subjected to common domestic regulations as to hours, diet, clothing, habits, pursuits, instead of being left to form each his own plan for the conduct of daily life. This was the revival and extension of an old, rather than the invention of a new institution.

When a missionary expedition pitches its camp on a heathen soil, the members are at first mutually dependent, and they live together in a state of brotherhood. They form a body—more or less compact—with an internal organization, which gives them unity and completeness. This is seen in the accounts of our mission stations in foreign parts, much as it happened when Augustine or Birinus visited Britain. This constitutes the first plant of a see. If the mission flourishes, and founds a church, the chief of the mission becomes its bishop; the staff by which he is immediately surrounded forms a chapter of persons living by a common rule, *canonicè*, and therefore called canons—these train and send out ministers to the dependent stations, which are the germs of future parishes. The multiplication of parishes provides constant work for the supervising bishop, and detaches him gradually from his former intimate associates, the canons. They are governed by a *dean*, who is at first only a representative of the bishop, but in course of time acquires an independent position.

Thus we may see at a glance that the canonical body represents the original missionary offset, and therefore is co-eval with the national church. Chrodegang

was not its inventor, but he infused into it new life and expansion. He would not that the canonical body, having discharged its primal task, should repose in numbers few and select, under the shadow of the cathedral, but he would affiliate to them the whole of the working clergy. They should still be attached to the home from which they had issued, and continue to own the parental sway. Circles should be formed; each circle should have its capitular house or college for the residence of the canonicized clergy, and their organization would be complete.

Charlemagne favoured the canonic scheme, and if he had been able to carry out his ecclesiastical views, all the clergy of the empire would have been embodied in such canonical *corps*. This however was never accomplished. The spread of the system was not such as to absorb into itself the whole of the *secular clergy*, yet it did extend so far as to come into serious competition with the monastic body, and to draw to itself a good share of that popular veneration which formed the capital of the '*religious*' system.

It would dissipate some of the uncertainty which clouds a vital part of our early church history, if we could determine what effect Chrodegang's institution had in England. William of Malmesbury\* says, that the canonical rule of Chrodegang was never received in England. This may be granted, and yet it seems hardly reasonable to suppose it had no influence on this side the channel †.

The contention between canons and monks, which plays so large a part in the home affairs of England for two hundred years, seems to claim kindred with the Frankish canonic movement, and its rivalry against monachism.

In the ninth century, monachism had little support in England. It was befriended by Swiðhun, Æðelwulf, and Alfred—and yet these powerful allies could not compensate its losses. Danish violence seems to have completed the ruin of the monasteries, which were already in a languishing state through the oppressions detailed above. Chapters had weathered the storm better than monasteries. A monastery is a highly destructible institution, and at that date monasteries were not yet skilled to stand a siege. A monastery might be sacked, burned, and the monks killed or dispersed. But the bishop never dies, and this perpetuity his canons share. During the ninth century, monks decreased and

\* De Pontificibus. Lib. ii. Exoniensibus.

† How far is the ruri-decanal system indebted to Chrodegang—not its original institution, but its present form and title? We know that χωρεπίσκοποι, or 'village bishops,' reach back into the earliest Christian antiquity, and that the council of Laodicea (A. D. 364) inhibited them. Can. 57. οὐ δεῖ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς χώραις καθίστασθαι

ἐπισκόπους, ἀλλὰ περιοδεύτας. (Dansey, *Horæ Ruri-decanales*.) But the '*rural dean*' and the '*rural chapter*' are evidently no members of the original plant of the church, and they must have been instituted in the course of following out a systematic development in imitation of the older cathedral system.

canons increased. Some monasteries, finding it impracticable to maintain their numbers, had recourse to the expedient of inviting canons to join their fraternity, and keep up the service and ceremonial of the house. The companionship of canons proved contagious to monks, who were disposed to prefer the rule canonical as less rigid than the monastic. In the tenth century, the monasteries were hardly distinguishable from canonical chapters, excepting, perhaps, a single one in which monastic discipline had been maintained, namely, the Monastery of Glastonbury.

In the reign of Eadgar the contention emerges in a sudden and explosive manner. Dunstan and Æðelwold were exerting all their influence to expel canons, and reinstate monks in the old monasteries. In that Saxon Chronicle, which we may call the Winchester Chronicle, we read under the year 964, that king Eadgar ejected the priests (i. e. canons) in Winchester, both from the Old Minster and from the New Minster. He did the same at Chertsey and at Middleton. This happened in the year following that in which Æðelwold was advanced to the see of Winchester.

This is only a sample of what had been taking place in various parts of the kingdom. Dunstan, abbot, bishop, archbishop, had for years been making it the chief point of the internal policy of the country to substitute the rigid Benedictine discipline, like that at Fleury and Monte Cassino, for the comfortable anarchy of the canonical cloister. Odo, his predecessor in the primacy, and his nominee, had begun this revolution as long ago as 942, and had carried it through in military style. Oswald, bishop of Worcester, carried out the change in that see, which Dunstan, who had held Worcester before him, had not effected. In short, the revolution was complete—not to the extinction of the canonical order, but to the reversal of the numerical proportion of seculars to regulars, and to the preponderance of the latter.

Out of Glastonbury had gone forth a spirit of revival. Glastonbury was the scene of Dunstan's education, and likewise his first seat of authority. In this sheltered spot the primitive conventual life had continued to survive; its coenobitic character being maintained by Keltic rather than by Saxon inmates. Into this chosen nook was inserted the bud that was to spread and fill the land with a new religious movement.

Glastonbury was on the extreme of Wessex Proper, toward the Weal-cyn; and to this day, in all the associations connected with its name, Glastonbury seems to belong as much to the Briton as to the Saxon. Glastonbury is a border-land in more senses than one. It is a place where fact and fable meet. It has the rare distinction of being situate equally in mythland and in physical geography. On its local catalogue of celebrities are, Joseph of Arimathæa, Arthur, Dunstan, and Æðelwold. Dunstan's history, in its first Glastonbury stage, is hardly

less enveloped in the haze of romance than that of the famous names preceding his. It is the story of a visionary youth, feeding his soul on the wild native songs of the Kelt and the Saxon, accused of sorcery, and declaring himself to be persecuted by devils. After an extreme struggle, under the influence of his uncle Ælfheah the Bald, bishop of Winchester, he became a converted character, and renounced the world. So went the phrase in his day, to signify, he became a monk. At Fleury he passed his probation, and came home perfect in the discipline of the strictest sect of monachism,—a Benedictine. Having adopted this profession he pursued it with zeal and constancy, and speedily won a reputation for extraordinary sanctity. This, combined with his good family connexions, soon caused him to be promoted to that leading position in the state for which his matchless abilities qualified him. As abbot of Glastonbury he was the most powerful man in England. Under two kings, Eadmund and Eadred, that is, from 940 to 955, he was the chief adviser of the crown. In the short reign of Eadwig, from 955 to 959, his power suffered a brief eclipse, and the secular party triumphed. But under Eadgar he resumed the government of the country with an absolute sway, from which no one, not even the king himself, was exempt. Dunstan's influence lasted forty years, and had permanent effects on the country. To him is to be attributed the comparatively long peace which the land enjoyed in the reign of Eadgar. His statesmanship united the kingdom internally as it had never been united before, and he protected the shores by the maintenance of an efficient navy. The monastic movement made mighty strides. Eadgar has the credit of having founded forty-seven Benedictine houses. The strength of Dunstan's position lay in this, that he was supported by the religious convictions of the people, while he was opposed only by an *interest*. Influential names appear on the other side, such as Wulfstan, archbishop of York, and Ælfhere, ealdorman of Mercia. But good men sided (generally speaking) with Dunstan, and if our modern impulse is to condemn his plans, we may doubt whether we have understood his position. Even Milton, who in his own day could not "praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue," might have been of a different mind if he had been contemporary with Dunstan.

Which party Swiðhun would have elected to side with, we cannot doubt. Neither did Dunstan or his friend Æþelwold doubt, that the affectionate reverence with which the people treasured the name of Swiðhun was a favourable symptom for themselves, and one out of which they might coin means to advance their plans.

Information began to reach Æþelwold that Swiðhun had appeared to divers persons in vision. (Had it been intimated that such announcements would receive the attention due to them?) When visitors came on this business, they were received by the bishop with his secretary sitting by, like an assessor, even

the learned Landferð, from over the sea; and he wrote it all down in Latin—*and Landferð se ofersæwisca hit gesette on Leden\**! Presently Landferð had a volume full of the appearances and miracles of bishop Swiðhun. Specimens of its contents may be read in the leaves at the head of this essay; the materials of which were plainly, and almost professedly, drawn from the Latin work of Landferð.

These remarkable circumstances being reported to the king Eadgar, it was his desire that the body of the saint should be elevated from his humble tomb with all attendant honour and distinction, and so he desired the bishop, *þæt he hine upp adyde mid árwurðnysse †*.

The leading interest of these Gloucester Fragments may be said to consist in this, that they expand before our eyes the process by which a ‘translation’ was prepared and effected.

The initiative was with the people, though it rested with their leaders to ignore it or give effect to it. It was some broken-down smith (*se gelyfeda smið ‡*) or some poor peasant body (*sum earm ceorl §*); or again, three blind women from the Isle of Wight ||, who, or whose friends, are the deponents, either in their own persons or through the priest, in the drawing up the case for the translation of bishop Swiðhun. The case prepared, it is brought by the bishop under the notice of the king, who thereupon notifies the bishop of his will, that the remains of the holy man be ‘translated;’ and so the movement, having begun with the people, and having through the priest and bishop ascended to the throne, is next repeated inversely; the order for the ‘translation’ issues from the king, and through the bishop and clergy descends to the people.

The proceeding is strictly constitutional. Church and state are parties to it. Under order from the temporal head of the church, the clergy convene the people—but to enact a solemnity, the first springs of which were in the popular sentiment. Regular as the transaction is, and void of any tumultuary feature, yet, at the same time, Swiðhun is no *canonized* saint, but a saint by popular conviction and popular enthusiasm—*Vox populi vox Dei*—a saint by acclamation!

Whatever be the measure of esteem which we accord to the titles of ecclesiastical ‘saints,’ we may find room for gradations of respect, and prefer the home-made ‘saint,’ to the ‘saint’ canonized at Rome. It was nearly 200 years after the translation of Swiðhun, when popular enthusiasm running high after saint-making, the chiefs of the hierarchy at Rome assumed the direction of this passion, founded a committee to sit on the merits of saints, and commenced the

\* See above, page 10, line 20.

† Page 8, line 9. ‡ Page 2, line 5.

§ Page 6, line 2. What progress the word *ceorl* had at this date made in absorbing into itself the

spirit of its almost constant adjectival companion *earm*, it is not easy to decide. Here it looks almost as if it invited us to render, *ein armer Ærl.*

|| Page 8, line 25.

chapter of "canonization." And it was this coldblooded evidence-weighting institution that, entering into things which it had not seen, pretended to dispense crowns of celestial merit, while waiting nations were impatient to honour their departed worthies—it was this that brought the very name of 'saint' into contempt, and imparted to it a jarring, incredulous, and ironical sound. The earlier and simpler doings of the national church must not be confused with a later system. Swiðhun was called a saint, much in the same way as now-a-days in many a Protestant family, one whose life has exhibited a consistent profession, witnessed of many witnesses, is unhesitatingly and unmisgivingly pronounced 'a saint in glory.'

True, the immediate causes of Swiðhun's sainting, as given in the narrative of his translation, seem to destroy all analogy with the private sainting of Protestant life, by resting Swiðhun's sainthood on his miracles. Many would go on to say, that these miracles being fictitious, the sanctity based upon them is also a fiction. This looks logical, but it is not so. For if we seek the cause of the general readiness to accept his miraculous attributes, it can have been nothing else than a foregone opinion of his sanctity. The conviction of those before whom his life had been passed, that he was a holy man, and one who as a prince had power with God, is after all the fundamental basis of the reputed sanctity of those whose sainthood is professedly rested on mere reports of miracles.

Happily, the miraculous element has not so completely encrusted the portrait of Swiðhun, but what we are able to discern some of the truly Christian features of his character. He was marked by a simple and sincere humility, an indefatigable zeal and activity, and a large-minded statesmanlike care for the interests of the church. If this last expression has, in our day, and to some ears, something antagonistic and sectional in its sound, in Swiðhun's time it was not so. The interests of the church were then identical with the interests of Christianity. When Swiðhun induced Æþelwulf to grant one tenth of his lands to the use of the church, it was a pure and unmingled effort for the promotion of the kingdom of Christ. Whatever may now be said or alleged on conflicting views of state provision and ecclesiastical endowments, it is certain that in Swiðhun's day one view only was possible. To the mind of a sincere believer there could not be two sides to make a question of.

I will not here stop to examine the different explanations that have been given of the donation of Æþelwulf. I will at once state what I believe it to have been. Wherever the king had a manor, he gave a tenth part of it, to found upon it what we should now call a 'mission.' Outlying districts that were distant from the sound of the Gospel and the ministrations of religion, were thus often provided with the means of maintaining clergy. What was thus founded in each case was not a parish church, but a mother church—a station, or college of

clergy, which in course of time became the parent of parish churches, and dotted the country roundabout with Christian spires. Some of these became afterwards monasteries of name with mitred abbots sitting in Parliament, but many a one subsided into equality with the daughter churches about her, unless she chanced, as in some cases, to retain the maternal title—little understood, till lately explained—of ‘Minster\*.’

That we may safely attribute this important act of Æðelwulf’s to the advice of Swiðhun, though it is not said so in the earliest records, can hardly be doubted by any one who has examined all the considerations on which the opinion rests. The enucleation of the question involves another, which is ranged with it at the head of this essay. Namely, whether the hand of Swiðhun can with any probability be traced in one of the Chronicles? What I have to say on this subject I reserve for my Introduction to the Saxon Chronicles. Here I am only taking the survey and valuation of Swiðhun’s acts in relation to himself and the credit they reflect upon him, that we may see what justification they offer for the proceeding of those who after his death declared him to be a ‘saint.’

If Æðelwulf’s donation be rightly interpreted, Swiðhun achieved a great benefit for his country and a great service in the cause of Christianity. It entitles him to take rank not only among the promoters, but almost among the founders of the national church. Next to the introduction of the Gospel into the land, the machinery for its diffusion was of the greatest importance. If Christianity was to cope with the native paganism, it must be carried into each remote hamlet. We may believe that the fruits of Swiðhun’s policy witnessed for him a century after his decease, and helped to resuscitate his fame.

Æðelwold recognised in the counsel of Swiðhun a spirit and a purpose cognate to that with which he and his colleagues were animated. The sincere object which Æðelwold and his fellows had at heart was identical with the aim of Swiðhun, viz. to systematize and ‘establish’ Christianity, so that it should pervade and season the life of the country, and depaganize it.

Swiðhun had not gone so far as to induce Æðelwulf to make the payment of tithes a legal obligation, but the measure of giving to religious uses a tenth of all the royal land must have acted as a strong precedent and example. The dedication of a tenth seemed to be recognised as a duty of religion.

\* The Saturday Review has recently quoted the following from an author who will need no introduction to the antiquarian reader. “The prefix *minster* carries us back to a period of remote antiquity, antecedent to the formation of the present parochial system, when the church at Misterton (called in Domesday, *Minster-Reyton*)

was the only church throughout a large district in which the ministrations of religion could be obtained.” *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Blyth, in the Counties of Nottingham and York.* By the Rev. John Raine, M. A., Vicar of Blyth, and formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Westminster: Nichols, 1860.

It was not until the days of king Aðelstan that tithes gained a footing in the Statute Book ; and we must look still later to find them invested with full legal authority and coercive sanction. It is in the reign of king Eadgar that a formal law first emanates from king and Witan, which, while it urges the religious obligation like a homily, enjoins its performance under penal liabilities. Thus the counsel of Swiðhun bore its mature fruits under Dunstan, Æðelwold, and Oswald ; and these would naturally hold the name of Swiðhun in honour, not only as a good pastor, but also as a politic statesman. Swiðhun had initiated that course in the development of a national church which Dunstan had consummated.

And as in the category of tithes, so also in that of monastic institutions, a kindly harmony is discovered between the aim of Swiðhun and that of Dunstan or of Æðelwold.

The minster system of Swiðhun stood intermediate between the parishes on the one hand and the conventual system on the other. The parochial system was its natural deductive result, and the high monastic system was the perfect development of its innate capacities. Between Swiðhun's time and Æðelwold's the parishes had been silently multiplying\*, and now, the foundations being well laid, the care of the masterbuilder concentrated itself on the upper regions of the ecclesiastical edifice. Swiðhun had laid the foundation widely and durably—Dunstan, Æðelwold, and their compeers should bring it to completeness and perfection. The highest known form of a religious and devoted life was that which was regulated by the Benedictine rule. Through the timely provision of Swiðhun, the English church was now prepared to admit that rule in many parts that, but for Swiðhun, might have been still heathen. Swiðhun the founder of minsters had paved the way for Æðelwold the father of monks (*muneca fæder*). How could Æðelwold do other than promote the translation of Swiðhun?

The people could not share in these comprehensive views, but they could appreciate Swiðhun's public works and his personal humility. Had he not been the first to build a stone bridge over the Itchin, just outside the east gate of the city, where only a wooden one, rickety and unsafe, had ever been before? The townsfolk of wooden Winchester, with its wooden monasteries and its wooden cathedral, had never seen such stone-work, before nor since, as those arches in

\* In the century between Swiðhun and Æðelwold the church had been quietly spreading itself in the country. We find the principle of church-rate distinctly recognised in unmistakable terms in the year 902. Cod. Dipl. 1079—"and eac ælee geara fultumien to çære cyrican bote çe ðet land

to hyrð be ðem dæle çe ðet oðer folc do be his landes meçe," i. e. "and also each year help to the repair of the church belonging to that land, in the same proportion as other folk do according to assessment."



Swiðhun's bridge! (Why has not time spared us some Saxon description of that bridge, that we might know how the Winchester folk talked of it, and what were the indigenous words that gave Landferð his powerful and enviable phrase: *lapideis arcubus opere non leviter ruituro!*)

And the bridge was not all. He had built or reedified many churches. Moreover, that lofty tower, that was only lately taken down when bishop Æðelwold begun his new works on the cathedral—the belfry tower detached from the old church on the north side, near where Swiðhun lay. A work of cunning builders in wood—*turris rostrata tholis*—story over story, with carved beamheads projecting over, was not *that* consecrated when Swiðhun was bishop?

Then, for such a great and good man, only to think, what mean notions he had of himself! He would not be buried like a bishop, or a holy man, inside the church, nor in any of the choice places in the cemetery, in front of the eastward or southward elevation of the fabric,—but he would lie where none, not even the poorest, liked to be buried; in the sides of the dreaded north, where between the church and his own tower the place was trampled by the feet of passengers, and mined by the eavesdroppings from either side. There he had given orders to be buried; and we may be sure that in days when so much virtue was associated with the bodily remains of a saint, the popular mind would have been deeply impressed with this example of self-depreciation. Thus people and priest alike had (each according to their lights) a sincere Christian esteem for the man whom they were about to 'translate,' though they felt it necessary to ground such an important proceeding on another kind of testimony, viz. the divine. This was forthcoming, as soon as required, and was apparently produced in all good faith and simplicity. We need not maintain the historical reality of miracles alleged in this and like cases, but we shall be precipitate if we judge them to have been the work of artifice.

English Christianity in the tenth century had not yet passed the stage at which dean Milman's words (speaking somewhere on the conversion of the barbarians of Europe) are applicable. "Christianity prepared or found ready the belief in those miraculous powers which it still constantly declared itself to possess; and made belief not merely prompt to accept, but creative of wonder, and of perpetual præterhuman interference." There is no way of ascertaining what is, and what is not, evidence of the senses; except by bringing the senses of several persons to bear upon the same experiment. In days when the imagination played a far larger part than now in the entertainment of the mind, the imagination was hardly more informed by the senses, than the senses were amused and beguiled by the imagination. Men were not yet properly skilled to use either the one or the other. As the infant of days, or the man who has lately acquired the power of sight, knows not yet to measure distances or adjust

proportions—so there is an era in a nation's life when men do not yet distinguish a mental from an optical picture. In dreams we believe that we see and hear—and in the same manner the half-awakened barbarian mind projects from its inward resources a miraculous phantasmagoria which imposes upon the outward senses. If the mediæval miracles are not worthy of credit, they are notwithstanding worthy of respect. The vagaries of our infantine Christianity are so constantly treated either as an abomination or as a joke, that it flashes like a discovery upon the investigator, when he first sees that people then were as earnest as they are now\*.

It is commonly assumed that all the ecclesiastical miracles are fabrications. Considering the huge mass of reported miracle, and the diversity of the evidence upon which it is authenticated, it is clear, that such a decision against it has not been based upon examination, but upon an axiom which renders all enquiry superfluous. There are two axioms upon the subject. One is that of Hume, Gibbon, &c., excluding *all* miracle. This axiom is self-consistent, but it is purchased with unbelief. The other, which is common in the Protestant churches, is this: "The age of miracles is past." *Therefore*, mediæval miracles are all groundless, *because* the age of miracles is past. On further enquiry, how the age of miracles is to be ascertained, we find it means the age in which the received miracles were performed. Attempts have been made to bring "the age of miracles" within the compass of a better definition, but without success. It cannot be justified, either by the nature of Christianity, or by the words of its Founder. The altered position of Christianity in the world is the most potent argument, but this hardly applies to the case of our heathen forefathers.

The true distinction between the credibility of New Testament miracles and those of after-ages, is this, that the former are attested by witnesses who have our full confidence, and the latter are not. It does not therefore follow that we must disbelieve them in the mass. Historical and Christian arguments tend alike to the supposition that there is in them a nucleus of truth enveloped in a large product of the imagination.

But, be this as it may, we may at least exclude dishonesty from the account. The early miracles—at the first stage—were either genuine or genuinely believed in. Where the facts reported did not happen, the report sprang from an imagination glowing under spiritual excitement. The spiritual nature of man is immediately stirred by the first contact with Christianity—the

\* "I am free to confess that I have learnt what little I know of the Middle Ages, what they were like, how they came to be what they were, and how they issued in the Reformation, not so much from the study of the books about them

(many and wise though they are) as from the thumbing over for years the semi-mythical saints' lives of Surius and the Bollandists." Mr. Kingsley's Inaugural Lecture as Professor of Modern History at Cambridge, 1860.

ethical and experimental fruits which counterbalance the spiritual, take time for their development. The great and prime fact about the earliest miracles (to which the question of reality is subordinate and secondary), the prime fact is, that they were sincerely believed in.

The case was totally different when, in later times, miracles were maintained by those who had ceased to believe in them, and when they had assumed the character of an established imposture, which could not be done away with because it would involve the ruin of vested rights! While the miracles were honestly believed in, they were but childish ignorance, and were morally unimpeachable. We may look back at them with a kindly sympathy, and may remind ourselves that the highest attainments of human knowledge are after all but a partial illumination. There are regions of intelligence from which the enlightenment of the nineteenth century would look as grotesquely ignorant as the darkest of the past ages now appears to us. This reflection may help us to reverence the rude simplicity of our ancestors.

But the conduct of the leaders in such movements is open to a more searching enquiry. Did Dunstan and Æthelwold, and such men as they, believe in the miracles which stimulated the wonder and the piety of the untaught? There are passages in the life of Dunstan which would incline us to think that he largely shared the popular feeling in this respect. There are others which suggest that he made a politic use of the prevalent superstition. The one is not inconsistent with the other; and the probability is, that any movement of scepticism within the breast of such men was lulled by the soothing thought that the errors of the people could not be serious so long as they were favourable to piety.

They may well have argued, that it was better men should exercise their imaginations on Christian subjects than on the heathenish lore of their old pagan mythology. If both were equally unreal, the former, at least, had a solid foundation in eternal truth. If all the miracles were not facts, yet they were like facts, and represented substantial truth, viz. the wonderworking power resident in the Christian church. In this respect they might appear to be even instructive, as modern works of fiction are—to which they bear a considerable analogy, as the popular mental pabulum of different ages.

The great mischief was, that it proved a bar to progress. Once admitted, that visionary tales were profitable to edification, the whole tide of popular thought set strongly in that one direction. All the stores of knowledge, memory, surmise, observation, discovery, were poured indiscriminately into the one laboratory where miracles were manufactured. Every church, every saint, every locality swarmed with miracles. When men began to see the danger of losing Christianity in a new paganism of the wonderful, and to disbelieve all the popular miracles, they found the belief of them so rooted, and so widely spread, that

they feared to attempt its eradication, lest all popular religion should be torn up along with it. Then two great evils arose. On the one hand, church-leaders had recourse to explanations, evasions, and compromises with their own conscience, which sapped the very foundations of honesty\*. On the other hand, and as a counterpart, arose the grim spectre of popular distrust, which regarded the whole hierarchic lore as one monstrous incubus of delusion. But to Æðelwold in the year 973 these things were hidden in the distant future. The translation of Swiðhun was called for, and miracles were quoted and substantiated.

What the weather was on the fifteenth of July, A. D. 971, no record informs us. We are therefore at liberty to imagine, in opposition to sundry modern authorities, that it was a fair summer's day. By an invention of late date it is pretended that it rained so heavily as to interrupt the ceremony of the day, namely, the translation of bishop Swiðhun. This, it is alleged, was held for a proof that the meek bishop rejected the proffered honour. But it is only necessary to read the text above facsimiled, to learn that this contradicts the legend that was current at and just after the time of his translation. He is there represented as appearing in person, time after time, and urging his own "manifestation."

It agrees ill with what else we know of our sturdy forefathers, that when they had set their minds on a national celebration, and had met together from all parts for the purpose, they should have been deterred even by the most violent thunderstorm. In the north of Scotland when it rains at a funeral, they take it for a token that the deceased was a good man. Whether the rain be tears of sympathy with a bereaved world, or heaven's benediction in acknowledgment of a gem transferred to Paradise, they question not—they hail

\* E. g. Giraldus Cambrensis has the following peroration to a chapter embodying an incredible narrative, and we see at once that it was the pious evasion of the day. "Sin autem interpositæ relationis de veritate quid sentiam, scrupulosus investigator inquiras, cum Augustino respondeo, admiranda fore divina miracula, non disputatione discutienda: nec ego negando divinæ potentiæ terminos pono, nec affirmando, eam quæ extendi non potest insolenter extendo. Sed illud Hieronymi semper in talibus ad animum revoco: *Multa, inquit, incredibilia reperies, et non verisimilia, quæ nihilominus tamen vera sunt. Nihil enim contra naturæ Dominum prævalet natura.* Hæc igitur et similia si quæ contigerint, juxta Augustini sententiam inter illa locaverim, quæ nec affirmanda plurimum neque neganda decreverim." *Itinerarium Cambria*, i. 8.

"But if you ask, Mr. Sceptic, what is my own opinion of the truth of the above story, I answer with Augustine, that divine miracles are the subject not of controversial discussion, but of pious admiration. For my own part, I abstain equally from limiting divine power by the negative, and from a superfluous extension of it by the affirmative. In such cases I always call to mind Jerome's words: *You shall find many things, says he, which are incredible and unlikely, which notwithstanding are true all the same. For nature is not so constant as to overrule the will of nature's Lord.* I would therefore dispose of the whole question in Augustine's way, and decide, that while they need not be maintained so very positively, yet they are not things for a man to deny." This is a mere abdication of the judgment.

the omen. But perhaps this augury was unknown in Wessex; and, if it had been known, yet a translation is not a funeral! The one is a joyful, the other a sorrowful service. "A time to weep and a time to laugh." To earnest men the 'translation' said in a figure, "They that sow in tears shall reap in joy."

On the day of 'translation' the devout worshipper's thoughts, as he marched in the musical procession, would be to the tune of, "He that goeth on his way weeping, and beareth forth good seed, shall doubtless come again with joy and bring his sheaves with him." *Corpora sanctorum in pace sepulta sunt, sed nomina eorum vivent in æternum.* "The bodies of the saints are buried in peace, but their names shall live for ever." "Such honour have all His saints."

"The sweet remembrance of the just  
Shall flourish when he sleeps in dust."

The prosaic hexameters of the diligent Wolstan almost kindle with a poetic fire, when he touches the grand ovation at which his theme culminates;

Not long ago there stood a lofty tower  
With bluff projecting timbers gurgoyle-beaked,  
At narrow distance from the old church porch,  
A tower detach'd;—'twas consecrated when  
Saint Swiðhun's reverend brow the mitre wore.  
'Twixt tower and church—oft named in story both—  
The body of the man of God lay buried  
—To memory lost by very lapse of time.  
And few were left tradition-skilled t' unfold  
His name or merit—such long time had sped  
Since his interment. For, in his own esteem,  
So little was he, and of no account,  
(As all who knew him witness, faithful men,  
That, death in sight, he gave strict charge his bones  
Should not be laid within the sacred shrine,  
Nor yet in any of those choice aspècts  
Where ancient sires reposed, (bright sunny spots  
Shined on when first the golden sun awakes,  
And shined on through the noon) but rather where  
The westering sun scarce reaches;—on that side  
Of the antique church he had decreed to lie.

For oft his dying lips gave charge with tears,  
Protesting sternly he would not be laid  
Within the LORD's pure temple; nor be equal ranked  
With worthies old of monumental fame.

Such

Such his behest—but mark the just decree  
 Of righteous Heaven!—the saint who was so vile  
 In his own eyes, who slept like common dust,  
 Outside the church—extolled through power divine;  
 By signs innumerable, and by startling proofs,  
 Vouched meet to dwell with Peter and with Paul,  
 Into their church he was in triumph borne\*.

Nine years later there was another gathering at the church of Winchester. On the 20th of October, 980, the fabric of Æðelwold was dedicated. The dedication is narrated with much pomp by the poet Wolstan, who addressed his work to bishop Ælfheah the successor of Æðelwold. All the magnates of the realm were present. There was king Æðelred, a lovely boy of twelve years old; there was Dunstan the archbishop, now a venerable old man, with snow-white locks: next to him came Æðeluuold the good-hearted, the bishop of the see; then seven

\* By the kindness of my friend Rev. J. W. Burgon, I am enabled to present Wolstan's verses in a more intelligible form. The original Latin is as follows:

Turris erat rostrata tōlis quia maxima quædam,  
 Illius ante sacri pulcherrima limina templi,  
 Ejusdam sacrata Deo sub honore ierarchi.  
 Inter quam, templique sacram pernobilis aulam,  
 Corpore vir Domini sanctus requievit humatus,  
 Cujus adhuc ipso latuit nos tempore nomen:  
 Nee fuerant nisi perpauci qui pandere nossent,  
 Aut nomen meritumque Viri; jam tempore longo  
 Utpote transacto, postquam sacer ille sacerdos  
 Corpore ibi tumulatus erat; nam vilis apud se  
 Mente humili intantum Præsul fuit inelitus idem,  
 Ut perhibent omnes hunc qui novêre fideles,  
 Ut se post obitum sineret nullatenus intra  
 Ecclesiæ Christi penetralia corpore poni:  
 Sed nec in electis loca per diversa sepulchris,  
 In quibus antiqui patres jacuere sepulti,  
 Aurea sol oriens orbi quâ spicula mittit,  
 Quâ mediumque diem fervente calore perurit;  
 Sed magis occiduo mandat se climate poni  
 Illius illustris, quam sæpe notavimus, aulæ,  
 Contestans lacrimando suum non esse locandum  
 Corpus in æde sacrâ Domini, præclara nec inter  
 Præcorum monumenta patrum: moderamine Christi  
 Est ita quod factum justo, vir sanctus ut idem  
 Qui tactus virtute humili se sprexit, et extra  
 Est templum quasi vilis homo indignusque sepultus,  
 Innumeris signis virtutibus atque coruscis  
 Clarus, Apostolicam post transferretur in aulam.

(From Wolstan's Panegyric of Swiðhun. Brit. Mus. 15. C. vii. fol. 73. verso.)

other bishops; to wit, Ælfstan, of Rochester; Eðelgar, of Selsey; Ælfstan, of London; Æsewig, of Dorchester; Ælfheah, of Lichfield; Æðelsine, of Sherbourn; Aðulf, of Hereford; and after them a long train of grandes and notables.

A synod had recently been held at Andover, and so Æðelwold skilfully drew that assembly, after their business was transacted, to swell the solemnity of his dedication at Winchester.

Post alii plures aderant proceresque ducesque  
 Gentis et Anglorum maxima pars comitum  
 Quos è concilio pariter collegerat illo  
 Quod fuerat vico Regis in Andeferan  
 Idem pastor ovans ac sæpè notandus AÐELUUOLD\*.

A' many were present beside chief lords and leaders in battle,  
**Ealdormen**, þegnas, and eke most part of the **eorlas** of England,  
 Which had from the synod just held in the Vill-Royal of Andover, hither  
 In captive procession been led by the busy benevolent bishop.

This mighty gathering had assembled with toil, and they worshipped with energy. The sound of their devotions was like the sound of many waters; and their joint **Amen** like a peal of thunder. **Agmen Amen resonat . . . Agmen Amen resonat!**

Nor was the second part forgotten. The sturdy worshipper was recruited by an abundant festival; and day after day the solemn chant was heard alternating with the merriment of festivity. A sad countenance was nowhere seen, for every heart was glad. Food was abundant and various. The wine-drawers skipped to and fro—crowning the vessels with wine—pressing the guests to drink; and then with their empty cans, to the cellar they hasten again. But the national drink prevailed, and mead was preferred to wine. Many an honest face, eclipsed by the roomy tankard; emerged to view betimes, in fuller orbèd glow. A drop from the brimming bowl had bedewed the shaggy beard; a jerk of the chin dislodged it, and the beard was itself again. As a shower from a summer cloud, so Saxon converse broke. At first in single drops; wide-spaced; full; weighty; express; monosyllabic—then a pause. But soon it burst anew, in a rattling shower of words; and soon it flowed in streams, for all were talking at once.

No like Dedication for grandeur has been,  
 In the whole English nation enacted, I ween.

\* Brit. Mus. Reg. 15. C. vii. folio 52.

Nunquam tanta fuit, talisque dicatio templi  
In totâ Anglorum gente patrata reor.

All this pious exultation belongs to the history of saint Swiðhun. The sacred edifice, now dedicated, had been inaugurated in the course of its uprearing by receiving into it the bodily remains of one who was held to belong, assuredly, to the communion of saints.

We may assume that saint Swiðhun's name was prominent at this time as furnishing the chief local illustration of the wonderful power inherent in the Christian faith. He was the theme of the dedication day. His merits, already in Latin before 971, were probably by this time celebrated in the vulgar tongue, and made the subject of popular discourses. But it is only fair to remark, that if the merits of the saint were preached, it was so done, or so purposed to be done, as to reflect (and not to obscure) the glory of his Master. This may be seen on the leaves which are the text of the present memoir. *þyllice tucna cyðað ðæt Crist is ælmihtig God, ðe his halgan gewutelode þurh swilce weldæda*\*. "Such tokens prove that Christ, who manifested his saint by such benefits, is Almighty God."

Lives and miracles of saints began about this time to absorb the attention both of the learned and the unlearned. The development of this subject occasioned a new burst of vernacular literature. In the previous century, that is, the ninth, there had been a revival of letters under king Alfred. In his reign, as at a later and like revival, the approved and received models were translated out of Latin into English. This is the first step in the education of a language, and of a people through their language, to exercise it in the expression of thoughts already stored in older and more practised tongues. Such a process English underwent in the ninth century, and again in the sixteenth; and at this stage of progress is the Russian language now.

But in the tenth and eleventh centuries a domestic literature began to raise its head. It received its form from the religious impulses of the day, but a large part of its matter was from the older treasures of ancestral tradition. Lives of saints, memoirs of translations, and homilies were now produced in considerable numbers. The seats of learning were filled before Dunstan's death with able scholars either reared at home or invited from abroad. Themes were supplied for them to expatiate upon, by the repetition from time to time of the saint-making ceremony of 'translation.' The lives and miracles of saints became the popular literature of the day. Swiðhun's life was written by Landferð in prose and by Wolstan in verse—Dunstan's life was written by Bridferð, and his eulogium by Adelard of Bath—Æðelwold's life was written by Wolstan the

\* Page 12, line 19.



biographer of Swiðhun. In these compositions it often happened that the historical part was very meagre, being little more than a frame to support the medallions of popular tradition. Those legends of ancient gods or heroes which had been the staple of the old rhapsodies were now transplanted from verse into prose, and transferred from heathen to Christian subjects. It is this circumstance which gives the miracles of the saints an abiding historical value. In them we have, under altered names, a repertory of northern mythological tales. Among the stories narrated of Swiðhun is the following: A certain nobleman was walking by the side of a river at noon-tide, and he became suddenly aware of three female figures of more than human stature, which rapidly and furiously bore down upon him. He could not escape—they seized him and maltreated him, and left him as dead. He was brought to Swiðhun and presently restored. In this narrative we may confidently recognise the three Fates of Scandinavian mythology, the Past, the Present, and the Future. They make their appearance again, in the form of the three witches who meet Macbeth and Banquo on the heath;

The weird sisters, hand in hand,  
Posters of the sea and land.

A well-known cromlech on the verge of Dartmoor, near Drewsteignton, has three tall uprights. The name of the cromlech among the people of the country is, "The Spinsters' Rock." Still, the same three 'weird' or *fatal* sisters.

Giraldus Cambrensis, in his Welsh circuit, picked up a story about the resentment of S. David de Llanvaes, shewn at a boy who was robbing the birds' nests about the church\*. It is almost an echo of that which is so well known from the Father of History, old Herodotus.

Heathen relics were depaganised by placing them under the name and patronage of a Christian saint, and then all the virtues resident in the relic went to swell the fame of the saint. That the heathen of the north held certain bracelets or rings in the highest veneration is well known. When Giraldus was at Brecknock, he found one of these revered bracelets figuring as the '*torques S. Canauci de Brecheinoc*,' the bracelet or ring of S. Cynog the son of Brycheiniog; and wonderful things told of it †.

Another source of miraculous decoration was the wonders of nature. Any phenomenon, whether constant or casual, that had arrested popular attention, was fit matter for these amusing and edifying narratives. The ammonites of Whitby became coiled serpents that S. Hilda had charmed; another geological curiosity became the "Beads of S. Cuthbert," and to S. Patrick was attributed the absence of venomous serpents in Ireland.

\* Itin. Cambr. i. 2.

† *Ibid.* Hunc autem pro reliquiis habent indigenæ virtuosissimis, &c.

Traditional prognostics contributed their quota to the ruling taste. We, to whom famine has only an historical sense, cannot share the intense interest with which men would anticipate the probabilities of the weather, when they had no provision against a bad year, and no chance, if their crop failed, of importing food from another country. If the early summer was rainy, it might well happen that a gloomy foreboding might take possession of men whose food was totally dependent upon the weather. The untutored mind is incapable of discovering laws of nature, because he is impatient of observation, and therefore his deductions are hasty, unfounded, and determined by his humour. The Gothic peoples appear to have had an early habit of prognosticating what the character of the season would be, by fixing a particular day to serve as a specimen. The traditional custom of looking for forty days' rain or forty days' sunshine, according as it may happen to rain or to be fine upon a fixed day, is known not only in England, but also in France, Belgium, and Germany. It must, therefore, have been a prognostic of primitive antiquity. Possibly they determined in this way, whether a part of the population should start on an expedition, and so relieve the community from the danger of a winter scarcity. This primæval notion, having lost its original position and connection in traditional lore, fell at length to the lot of S. Swiðhun, and furnished him with his most distinguishing attribution. It is not clear at what time this prognostic became embodied into his legend. Whether his choice to be buried outside the church rather than inside, led to an association of his name with the storms and showers of the open air, we can only conjecture. Matthew of Westminster says, "præcepit domesticis ut extra ecclesiam cadaver suum humarent, ubi et prætereuntium pedibus et *stillicidiis ex alto rorantibus* foret obnoxium." "He ordered his household that they should inter his corpse outside the church, where the feet of passengers and the droppings from the eaves would beat upon it." This particular of the eavesdropping, which occurs also in William of Malmesbury\*, but which does not appear in the early Lives, may be thought to indicate that already in the twelfth century the anniversary of the translation of saint Swiðhun had come to be noted as the day of augury for the prospects of the summer. Mr. Parker, in his *Calendar of the English Church, Illustrated* (Oxford, 1851), pp. 87—89, discovers on the Clog Almanacks the representation of a shower of rain as the symbol of saint Swiðhun; but it is not easy to trace the resemblance in the figure there given †.

An account has somehow obtained currency, that on the day of the translation it rained, to mark the displeasure of the saint at the disturbance of his bones, and that the weather continuing unsettled for forty ensuing days, it became

\* Gest. Pont. Lib. ii.

† The general date assigned to the Clog Almanacks is the reign of Queen Elizabeth, but their traditional forms are of high antiquity.

a proverb, and a portent for succeeding generations\*. This tale cannot be traced to any ancient source; and indeed in itself it has all the appearance of a modern simulation of history. It appears from a note in Mr. Druce's interleaved copy of Brand's *Popular Antiquities* that he had tried to investigate the origin of this legend, but could trace it no higher than to a cutting from an old newspaper †.

The real origin appears then to have been that already indicated, viz. the habit of attaching to the saints of Christendom any remnants of traditional and mythological lore, which, by the extinction of heathendom, had lost their centre and principle of cohesion, and were drifting about in search of new connections.

The utilisation of the mediæval saints as new subjects to receive the decorations of the discarded gods, and as a means of indulging the popular mind with select portions of their hereditary superstitions under a new name, must be taken into the account as one of the causes of hagiology.

The connection of saint Swiðhun's name with a rainy portent is probably as accidental as the meeting of any two given persons in the confusion of a crowd. Neither in the history of his life, nor in that of his 'translation,' is any thing to be found that can be called the origin of this prognostic. On the other hand, we find that in France, Germany, and Belgium ‡, there are certain saints' days to which the same legend is attached. The date of the 'translation' of Swiðhun, being probably on or about the day anciently in use for this prognostic, may be presumed as the occasion of its connection with his name.

It is quite a distinct point whether there is or is not any truth in the prognostic. In Hone's *Every Day Book* (July 15) some observations are quoted tending to prove that, though it will not bear rigid examination, yet it is not totally unfounded. Among other instances these occur. "In 1807 it proved wrong; a rainy July 15 was followed by a dry time. In 1808 it was wet, and the rule came partially true. In 1818 and 1819, July 15 was dry and followed by dry weather. Of the series 1807—1819 it was generally true enough; but

\* Encyclopædia Metropolitana, vol. xvi. p. 158.

† Hone's *Every Day Book*, vol. i. p. 953.

‡ In *Notes and Queries*, vol. xii (1855), pp. 137 and 253, the reputation of saint Swiðhun as *magister diluviorum* is made the subject of investigation. The following meteorological rhymes are quoted from France:

"S'il pleut le jour de saint Médard [June 8]  
Il pleut quarante jours plus tard;  
S'il pleut le jour de saint Gervais et de saint  
Protas [June 19]  
Il pleut quarante jours apres."

M. Quitard "Diet. des Proverbes" gives the legend of St. Médard. In the season when roses bloom, he with a large party were abroad, enjoying a serene summer day. Unexpectedly a heavy shower fell on them and wetted them to the skin, all but St. Médard, over whose head floated an eagle with expanded wings, sheltering him all the way till he reached his home.

The raining saint in Flanders is St. Godeliève, and in Germany are three raining saints or saints' days. One of the days is that of the Seven Sleepers—*Septem Dormientium*.

in the wet summer of 1816, though the adage was literally verified, yet the heaviest wet fell before the 15th."

To these observations is added the following explanation: "Our year has a dry and a wet moiety. The latter is again divided into two. Its first half is S. Swithun's epoch. It may be said on the whole, to set in with the decline of the diurnal mean temperature, the maximum of which falls between 12th and 25th July. Now July 15th (old style) = 26th (new), so that common observation, though unconscious of the cause, had nicely enough marked the effect. The operation of this cause being continued usually through great part of the eighth month, the rain of this month exceeds the mean by almost as much as that of the ninth falls below it."

I am assured by my friend the Rev. Leonard Jenyns, the author of *Observations in Meteorology*, that saint Swiðhun's prognostic is of no real value, and that it can only have obtained credit by attention being given to the instances wherein it fell true, to the neglect of the cases in which the reverse occurred\*.

The 'saint' being once established, his fame was still in its ascendant. Pilgrimages were now made to his shrine, as to a holy spot, where prayers would be heard more favourably, miracles were wont to be wrought, and the pilgrim might expect both bodily and spiritual benefit. "So great was the concourse of people, and so numerous and frequent the miracles, that the like had never been witnessed in England; for so long as the canons inhabited the church of Winchester, S. Swithun performed no miracles, but the moment they were ejected, the miracles began, as *Vigilantius testifieth* †."

The 'saint' had become part of the popular creed. He had a day in the Calendar, which signified, not merely that once a year his name was remembered, as it is even yet in our own times,—but further, that the liturgy of the day embodied his name in forms of prayer. Strange as it may seem to us now, the people of the middle ages witnessed prayers offered in all churches on S. Swiðhun's day, in which the merits of that bishop were pleaded as a propitiation before God.

\* Mr. Jenyns writes: "If it has any ground to stand on, it is simply the circumstance that, taking one year with another, there is generally more or less a change of weather at or soon after Midsummer. If there has been much dry weather all the spring, the chances are it sets in wet,—or, it may be just the contrary. This year [1860] it was very wet all June; then tolerably fine and settled for the first half of July; after which, just about S. Swithun's day, the rains returned—but they continued much beyond the

forty days, in fact, with only occasional and short intermissions, till the present time [Sep. 27]. . . . If persons would only note down in this, and in some other similar cases, when the rule *fails* as well as when it comes right, they would not trust it so much. They forget too the change of style since S. Swithun's time, which would quite alter the day as now standing in our Calendar."

† Quotation by Professor Willis, from Rudborne in the Winchester Volume of the Archæological Institute.

The earliest example I can produce of a Calendar with our saint's name in it, is one which appears to have been written about A. D. 1000, in a missal deposited in the Library at Rouen. In it, July 2 is characterised as the "Depositio S̄ci Swithuni, Episcopi;" and July 15, "Translatio S̄ci Swithuni, Ēpi \*."

Another form of celebrity accorded to the established saints was this, they had churches called after their names. This habit was built on the presumed mediatorial or intercessory power of a saint; who as a prince had power with God. So churches were dedicated to the honour of God, *sub invocatione Sancti Swithuni*: as if the transaction were conducted through this saint's mediation—and hence it has become usual to speak of the saint as the 'patron' of a church. A list of churches bearing saint Swiðhun's name will be annexed to this essay.

But the chief place of the saint's celebrity was Winchester. Here the cathedral was called by his name, and his remains were deposited in a handsome shrine which stood under the east window in the most conspicuous and sacred position of the whole edifice. At the time of the Reformation, this shrine disappeared, and no account has been preserved concerning its demolition or what became of the fragments or of the long-esteemed relics. No site now remains to localise the curiosity of the historical pilgrim, and even the name of saint Swiðhun has been exorcised by Royal Edict.

In the cause of truth we cannot but rejoice that the name of Swiðhun has been done away, because it had become an occasion of error. But while we concur in the demolition of Nehushtan, we may do justice to the simple faith which first erected it.

If the people of Israel burnt incense to the brazen serpent which Moses had made, that no way injures the reputation of Moses. If the people of England chose to incense the relics or the memory of Swiðhun, and to hang the shreds of their old paganism about his posthumous fame, that ought not to interfere with our respect for the living bishop of real history, who spent his life in warring against that very superstition which has so much busied itself since to do him honour †.

\* This missal was carried away out of England in 1052 by Archbishop Robert, when he fled to Jumièges. The Anglosaxon Calendar which it contains was privately printed some years ago by Benjamin Williams, Esq. I am indebted for these particulars to Rev. W. D. Macray, of the Bodleian Library.

† We may probably trace an instance of this even in his choosing to lie on the north side of the church. This feature of his history certainly

brings us into contact with a superstition not yet extinct. His purpose may have been, partly, to explode this notion. What Swiðhun did, many a good parson has done since; to correct a superstitious feeling, and consecrate the entire circuit of the churchyard. At Lawshall in Suffolk, where I once served the church, the immediate predecessor of the then incumbent lay, with his family about him, in the midst of the spacious sward on the north side, where they had it all to themselves.

The authoritative sainting of Swiðhun also requires to be considered with candour. His memory, it is true, has been honoured in a manner which we now condemn as erroneous. But it does not follow from this, that we are to disown him as a pious father of our national church, or to reflect upon those who raised his fame according to the religious methods of their day, without foreseeing consequences which were hidden from them.

Toleration has taught us—not indeed that truth and error are only relative or ‘geographical’ terms, but—that truth may exist under forms repulsive to ourselves; and it has also taught us to apprehend that there may be seeds of error in our own way of holding truth. The toleration which we concede to our contemporaries should not be refused to our forefathers.

Swiðhun’s name deserves to be more than an idle by-word. Prominent by his office in the Church, and distinguished by his services to the State, he stands forth as the first conspicuous advancer of the Apostolic work of Birinus! He lived at a juncture of time when the first featureless infancy of the nation was passing off, when it began to put forth its first efforts of policy, and its character began to be declared. At such a moment Swiðhun was the chief minister of religion in the court where Alfred was being reared! At such a moment Swiðhun laid the first beams of our constitutional fabric, in the identification of the interests of Church and State.

His name should be rivetted in the English memory like a nail securely driven, as those which are fixed by the masters of assemblies. This was the opinion prevalent in 971, an opinion which was clenched by the panegyric act of the people of Wessex.

There is no reason why posterity should cease to concur in the verdict thus solemnly registered. We may smile at the rhapsody of the hagiographer:

————— avouched through power divine,  
By signs innumerable, and by startling proofs,  
Companion meet of the Apostles twain,  
Into their church he was in triumph borne.

But we must acknowledge, that the closest scrutiny of Swiðhun’s history tends not to unsaint him, but rather to stamp his name with an inalienable credit, that—all due abatements made for the infirmity of his witnesses—he too, like the patriarch of old, before his translation had this testimony, that he pleased GOD!

END OF ESSAY.

ILLUSTRATIVE PIECES

CONCERNING

SAINT SWIDHUN.





## ILLUSTRATIVE PIECES.

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### I.

*The Profession of subordination, which Swiðhun, when about to be consecrated to the See of Winchester, made to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Celnoð. It has already been mentioned above, p. 22.*

#### PROFESSIO SWITHUNI WENTONIENSIS EPISCOPI.

IN Nomine Dei Summi et Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Ego Suithunus, humilis servunculus servorum Dei, Celnotho Archiepiscopo sospitatis salutem. Licet indignus ad Episcopalem sedem electus Wentanæ civitatis ecclesiæ, imprimis confiteor tibi, Reverentissime pater Celnothe Archiepiscope, continentiam meam\* et dilectionem meam ad te, quod absque ambiguitate et absque ulla falsitatis commentione est, Credo in Deum Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, Filium natum et passum pro humani generis redemptione et salute, Cujus potestas et imperium erat ante sæculum et regni Ejus non erit finis. Et illam rectam et orthodoxam fidem quam priores Patres nostri devote servaverunt, cum omni humilitate et sincera devotione, sicut prædecessores mei ipsi Sanctæ sedi Dorobernensis Ecclesiæ subjecti sunt, semper servare velle humiliter per omnia fateor. Necnon et tibi Pater Beatissime et amantissime Celnothe Archiepiscope, tuisque successoribus, veridica professione confiteor stabile obedientiæ præbere præceptum votorum meorum sine ullo scrupulo falsæ cogitationis usque ad terminum vitæ meæ. Beatitudinem vestram divina Gratia custodiat.

Registr. Pr. et Cap. Cantuar. No. 1.

MS. Cotton Cleopatra E. 1.

Textus Roffensis, Hearne p. 269.

Rudburn, Ang. Sac. I. 203.

\* Here Rudburn inserts, "quam prius in professione Monachali expressi." Mr. Stubbs is inclined to think that this is an interpolation, arising from a mistake as to the meaning of "continentiam." This document is not to be considered an

original composition of Swithun, who follows in it, almost verbatim, the profession made by his predecessor Wigthen, and by Humbert bishop of Lichfield. He is followed in the same form by Alhfrith his successor.

## II.

*The best idea of the religious estimation of Saint Swiðhun, and of his hagiology at the time of his translation, is to be gained from the manuscript of which a sketch is here given, with some extracts.*

The MS. Reg. 15. C. vii. is a large and beautifully written 4<sup>to</sup> MS., containing 127 folios, and rubricated in red and green. It is probably of the 10th century, but the latest assignable date is 1006. See p. 63. note.

fo. 1. Letter of Lantfrid, priest and monk, to the Brethren of Winchester, on the miracles of S. Suithun—prefatory to the general work. As follows:

Dilectissimis fratribus UUintonie commorantibus in s̄ci Petri cœnobio quod nuncupatur vetustissimum jugis concordia salus ac perhennis gloria · gaudium inenarrabile · splendor sine fine · pax sempiterna · caritas continua · hic et in celo · multiplicetur a Domino; Licet karissimi atque affabiles adelphi per universam ferme Europam sint diulgata penitus miracula · quæ præpotens auctor miraculorum dignatus est largiri gentibus anglorum per sanctissimi Suithuni meritum · tamen ne tanta Dei beneficia queant posteritatem latere succedentem; Nequissimus cunctorum prauis actibus hominum · utpote nullâ diuinæ prerogatiuâ scientiæ; Nullâ fultus bonitatis auctoritate · uerum vestris obtemperans iussionibus; vestris confisus orationibus · tremens ad tantam pelagi magnitudinem accessi · et quasi stillam de undis oceani · ita de plurimis sancti miraculis perpauca decerpsi; Quapropter efflagito conditorem rerum; quatinus non meum respiciat meritum · sed effectus iubentum; Uos etiam pro meis precor orare deliquiis; ne me seducat spiritus falsitatis; Nimirum animus terrenis inretitus curis · nihil ueritatis excogitare poterit nisi prius fallacis caligines erroris · spiritus scientiæ et pietatis expulerit; Et quum perparum scimus de signis mirabilibus · prodigiis ac uirtutibus · quæ sanctus iste in suâ gessit orationibus uitâ; nimirum ut inquit Priscianus · auctor grammaticæ artis peritissimus; studiis litterarum transeuntibus in neglegentiam propter scriptorum inopiam veniamus ad ea quæ post obitum ejus indubitanter sunt peracta ad uiri Dei tumulum; Idcircoque accessimus maxime ad euoluenda huius sancti miracula; quoniam ut beneficia Dei dignissimum est laudare; et iustissimum ea nescientibus predicare; Sic impiissimum est illa silendo negare · et nequissimum eadem ignorantibus non enarrare; Humanus quinetiam animus istius est naturæ; ut quotiescumque legendo didicerit uel audiendo sacros actus antiquorum uel mores patrum; relinquat cordis duritiam · deseratque mentis contumaciam sectatricem uitiorum, et inclinetur ad misericordiam, secteturque humilitatem magistram virtutum.

fo. 3. Pandit hic ex multis miracula pauca libellus,  
Per meritum Sancti quæ fecit Rector Olympi } Rubric of Preface.  
Pontificis nacto Suithuni corpore sacro. }

fo. 6. Explicit præfatio, incipit narratio de visione Fabri.

fo. 9. De clerico Gibberoso nomine ÆDELSINO qui ad sepulcrum S. Pontificis Suithuni curatus est primum, dominica die 4 Non. Julii.

- fo. 14. De quodam cive Wintoniensi et de Translatione S. Antistitis Suithuni.
- fo. 20. De innumeris miraculorum prodigiis.
- fo. 21. De Tribus cæcis mulieribus et de juvene muto.
- fo. 22. De Ancilla Teodici campanarii.  
De Paralytico in lecto ægritudinis suæ curato.
- fo. 23. De cæca muliere ad S̄ci Altare illuminata.  
De matrona quæ meritis S̄ci Viri bis sanitati restituta est.
- fo. 24. Quomodo vir S̄cs cuidam Matronæ per nocturnam visionem in somnis  
evidenter apparuit.
- fo. 27. De Paralytico Londoniensi.  
De xvi Londoniensibus cæcis.  
De alio claudo Londoniensi.
- fo. 28. De 25 infirmis qui una die curati sunt.  
De puero per quinquennium cæcato.  
De Homine qui cæcatus Romam perrexit.
- fo. 29. De Hrofensi paralytico.  
De Homine cæco quem iratus ductor longe ab hospitio reliquit.
- fo. 30. De 4 ægris utriusque sexus.  
De muliere quæ invisibiliter ad Sanctum portata est.
- fo. 33. De duabus mulieribus quarum una cæca, altera fuit muta.  
De 36 ægris qui in spatio Trium dierum curati sunt.  
De 124 infirmis qui in spatio 14 dierum curati sunt.  
De homine qui parricidium commisit.
- fo. 34. De homine qui nuda manu ignitum calibem portavit.
- fo. 36. De homine quem Legislatores cæcaverunt et postea per S. et Venerabilem  
Christi Sacerdotem illuminatus est.
- fo. 37. De homine qui ingentem cippum modico præcidit cultello.
- fo. 39. De Præposito Byrhferðo (Abendoniensi).  
De cæco in itinere illuminato.
- fo. 40. De debili et claudo.
- fo. 41. De puero qui de equo cecidit.  
De muliere quæ in Gallia sanata est.
- fo. 42. De altera muliere Gentis Francorum.
- fo. 43. De ultramarino latrone.  
De Visione cujusdam nobilis in Vecta Insula.
- fo. 46. De Juvene cæco.

fo. 47. De quodam adolescente incurvo.

fo. 48. De muliere manicis illigata.

fo. 49. De servo compedibus vineto.

fo. 49. verso.

Finit libellus de miraculis S. Suithuni Episcopi.

Incipit hymnus in honore ipsius per Alphabetam compositus :

Here poetry  
begins.

Aurea lux patriæ; UUentana splendet in urbe;  
 Suuithun sc̄s adest; Aurea lux patriæ;  
 Blande patrōne tuis; succurre benignus alumnis;  
 Confer open famulis; Blande patrōne tuis;  
 Culmina celsa pôli; felici calle petisti;  
 Et nobis áperi; Culmina celsa pôli;  
 Dexterâ Sancta DEI; te re benedixit in omni;  
 Nos et ubique regat; Dexterâ Sancta DEI;  
 Euge beate pater; meritoque et nomine fulgens;  
 Undique signipotens; Euge beate pater;  
 Fulgida lux hodie; nostris lucescit in oris;  
 Spargit ubique iubar; Fulgida lux hodie;  
 Gentibus Angligenis; sollemnia festa recurrunt;  
 Et renouant iubilum; Gentibus Angligenis;  
 Hæc ueneranda dies; astris arridet et aruis;  
 Estque decora nimis; Hæc ueneranda dies;  
 fo. 50. Illa uidere tuum; meruit super æthra meatum;  
 Digna fuitque óbitum; Illa uidere tuum;  
 Kastrâ beata poli; psallunt iubilando tonanti;  
 Congaudentque tibi; Kastrâ beata poli;  
 Læta uident Dominum; felicia corda piorum;  
 Et tecum iugiter; Læta uident Dominum;  
 Mitis ades miseris: releuans a clade cateruas;  
 Languida restituens; Mitis ades miseris;  
 Nulla camena tuas; potis est euoluere laudes;  
 Narrat uirtutes; Nulla camena tuas;  
 O medicina potens; quæ morbida corpora sanas;  
 Nos sana fragiles; O medicina potens;  
 Protege sancte tuos; pia per suffragia seruos;  
 Nos et ab aduersis; Protege sancte tuos;  
 Quæ tua cuncta potest; insignia promere lingua;  
 Pangere uox merita; Quæ tua cuncta potest;  
 Régibus ac miseris; idem patronus habetis;  
 Subueniens pariter; Régibus ac miseris;  
 Solue nefas scelerum; disrumpe et uincla reorum:  
 Flébile nostrorum; Solue nefas scelerum;

Te petitore DEUS; pius est prestare paratus;  
 Pareit et exaudit; Te petitore DEUS;  
 Uox tua celsithronum; potis est placare tonantem;  
 Flectit et ad ueniam; Uox tua celsithronum;  
 fo.50.verso. Xristus ab arce poli; dat te rogitante salutem;  
 Mittit et omne bonum; Xristus ab arce poli;  
 Ymnifer iste chorus; soluit tibi cantica lætus;  
 Permaneat gaudens; Ymnifer iste chorus;  
 Zelus amarus abest; ubi secla per omnia pax est;  
 Pax ubi Christus adest; Zelus amarus abest;  
 Agmen amen resonat; quod ibi cum laude triumphat;  
 Cum Christo regnans; Agmen amen resonat;  
 Mens habitans inibi; canit Alleluia tonanti;  
 Exultans iubilat; Mens habitans inibi;  
 En tibi sancte pater; modicum cantauimus ymnum;  
 Quem commendamus; En tibi sancte pater;  
 Nomina nostra chôro; sint ut sociata superno;  
 Stent et in angelico; Nomina nostra chôro.

Finit hymnus in honore sancti et beati Patris Suuithuni gentis Anglorum pii suffragatoris editus; elegiaco et paracterico hoc est repercusso carmine per A Be Ce Darium compositus, atque in ejus sacratissimâ depositione sub die sexta nonarum Juliarum qua feliciter ad regna migravit celestia sollempniter recitatus.

fo. 51. Incipit ad domnum specialis epistola patrem  
 Elfegum Wenta residet qui præsul in urbe  
 De Sancti Patris Suithuni insignibus et de  
 Basilica Petri reserat qui limen Olympi.

Domno pontifici; UUentanam principe Christo;  
 Qui regit ecclesiam; prospera cuneta canam;  
 Conferat \* Ælfhego; regni cœlestis honorem;  
 Qui dedit hunc omni; pontificem populo;  
 Ipse tibi pacem; tribuat sine fine perhennem;  
 Est qui sanctorum; Gloria pax et honor;  
 Hoc cupit ore pio; cupit hoc animoque benigno;  
 Ultimus Anglorum; Seruulus ymnicinum;  
 Sit licet ægra mihi; sine dogmatis igne loquela;  
 Nec ualeam tanto; Scribere digna uiro;  
 Hoc tamen exiguum; quod defero munus amoris;  
 Commendare tibi; Magne pater studui;

A description  
 of the great  
 church which  
 Æðelwold  
 built at Win-  
 chester.

\* Ælfheah removed to Canterbury in 1006, which gives a limit on one side for the date of this manuscript.

In quo perstrinxi; quæ fecit rector Olimpi;  
 Suuithumi meritis; cœlica signa patris;  
 Per quem magna suis; miracula prebuit Anglis;  
 Milia languentum; corpora saluificans;  
 Hæc etenim eecini; magnalia paupere cantu;  
 Presumendo boni; De bonitate Dei;  
 fo.51.verso. Grandia de minimis; est qui pensare suetus;  
 Suscipiens uiduæ; Bina minuta libens;  
 Qua non paupertas; sed erat pensata uoluntas;  
 Quæ uictum spreuit; Et sua cuncta dedit;  
 Hæc igitur commendo tibi; munuscula patri;  
 Quæ uoui Domino; Reddere corde pio;  
 Ut tua dignetur; hæc corroborare potestas;  
 Hæc et ab infestis; Protegere insidiis;  
 Dignus apostolicâ; resides qui presul in aulâ;  
 Instruis et populum; Dogmate catholicum;  
 Hocque monasterium; uariis ornatibus ornas;  
 Intus et exterius; Illud ubique leuans;  
 Quod quondam renouauit ouans antistes AÐELUUOLD;  
 Sollicitudo cui; Nocte dieque fuit;  
 Christicolos augere greges; atque ore paterno;  
 Hos cum lacte soli; Lacte nutrire poli;  
 Qui struxit firmis; hæc cuncta habitacula muris;  
 Ille etiam tectis; Texit et ipsa nouis;  
 Et cunctis decorauit ouans id honoribus; hueque  
 Duleia piscosæ; Flumina traxit aquæ;  
 Secessusque lacu; penetrant secreta domorum;  
 Mundantes totum; Murmure cœnobium;  
 Istius antiqui reparauit et atria templi;  
 Mœnibus excelsis; Culminibusque nouis;  
 Partibus hoc austri; firmans et partibus arcti;  
 Porticibus solidis; Arcibus et uariis;  
 Addidit et plures; sacris altaribus ædes;  
 Quæ retinent dubium; Liminis introitum;  
 Quisquis ut ignotis; hæc deambulat atria plantis;  
 Nesciat unde meat; Quoque pedem referat;  
 Omni parte fores; quia conspiciuntur apertæ;  
 Nec patet ulla sibi; Semita certa uiæ;  
 Huc illucque uagos; stans circumducit ocellos;  
 Attica dedalei; Tecta stupetque soli;  
 Certior adueniat donec sibi ductor; et ipsum  
 Ducat ad extremi; Limina uestibuli;  
 Hic secum mirans; cruce se consignat; et unde  
 Excit attonito; Pectore scire nequit;

Sic constructa micat; Sic et uariata coruscat  
 Machina; quæ hanc matrem sustinet ecclesiam;  
 Quam pater ille pius; summâ pietate refertus;  
 Nominis ad laudem; Celsitonantis heri;  
 Fundauit; struxit; dotauit; et inde sacrauit;  
 Et meruit templi; Soluere uota sui;  
 Regis ÆDELREDI; uisu cernente modesti;  
 In regni solio; Qui superest hodie;  
 Illum pontifices; sequebantur in ordine plures;  
 Complentes sacrum; Ritè ministerium;  
 fo.52.verso. Quorum summus erat; uultu maturus et actu;  
 Canicie niueus; Dunstan et angelicus;  
 Hunc sequebatur ouans; Anglorum lucifer idem;  
 Presul ADELUUOLDUS; Corde benigniuolus;  
 Post alii septem; quos nunc edicere promptum est;  
 Carmine uersifico; Cum pede dactilico;  
 Ælfstan · Æþelgarus; rursumque Ælfstanus et Æscuwig;  
 Ælfheah · Æþelsinus; Hic et Adulfus erant;  
 Post alii plures aderant; proceresque ducesque;  
 Gentis et Anglorum; Maxima pars comitum;  
 Quos è concilio pariter collegerat illo;  
 Quod fuerat uico Regis in Andeferan;  
 Idem pastor ouans ac sæpe notandus ADELUUOLD;  
 Sicut ei Domini Gratia contulerat;  
 Et celebrant cuncti; sollempnia maxima templi;  
 Plaudentes Domino; Pectore laudifluo;  
 Lætanturque bonis super omnibus; ille benignus  
 Quæ statuit cunctis Presul opima dari;  
 Fercula sunt admixta epulis; eibus omnis habundat;  
 Nullus adest tristis; Omnis adest hilaris;  
 Nulla fames; ubi sunt cunctis obsonia plenis;  
 Et remanet uario; Mensa referta cibo;  
 Pincernæque uagi; cellaria sæpe frequentant;  
 Conuiuasque rogant; Ut bibere incipiant;  
 fo. 53. Crateras magnos statuunt; et uina coronant;  
 Miscentes potus; Potibus innumeris;  
 Fœcundi calices; ubi rusticus impiger hausit;  
 Spumantem pateram; Gurgite mellifluam;  
 Et tandem pleno; se totum proluit auro;  
 Setigerum mentum; Concutiendo snum;  
 Sicque dies; alterque dies processit in hymnis;  
 Et benedixerunt; Omnia corda DEUM;  
 Omnibus expletis; tandem sollempniter hymnis;  
 Quos in honore DEI; Uox sonuit populi;

Unusquisque suas alacer repedavit ad oras;  
 In Domino gaudens; Pectore et ore canens;  
 Numquam tanta fuit; talisque dicatio templi;  
 In tota Anglorum; Gente patrata reor.

fo. 57. Explicit.

fo. 58. Incipit ad cunctos generalis epistola fratres  
 Qui baiolant inibi suave jugum Domini.

fo. 59. Incipit exigui præfatio stricta libelli  
 Parva canens sed magna tamen mysteria tangens,  
 De facile pietate tulit qua carnea Christus  
 Membra lavans totum sacro baptismate mundum  
 Restaurans et eum fuit unde expulsus in ortum.

fo. 63. Incipiunt tituli de signis præsulis Almi.

fo. 64—98. Incipiunt capitula de miraculis S. Suithuni Epi et Conf. Here follow 22 poems on the first 22 of the foregoing miracles, the rubrics being as above.

fo. 99—124. Incipiunt capitula sequentis libelli de miraculis S. Suithuni Epi.  
 1. De fabrica aræ et de ejus translatione. 2. De muliere quæ ad Sanctum invisibiliter portata est; as above at fo. 30; followed by 20 other miracles the same as before—in poetry.

fo. 125. Unum S. Suithuni miraculum.

fo. 126. Verse and prose on the Translation of S. Swiðhun. } In another hand.

#### NOTE.

Although this manuscript is in Latin, yet it may be called a Saxon document of a very high order. It has many direct or incidental notices of persons and things; it is indubitably contemporary; and further, the very imperfection of its Latin diction, which hardly conceals the vernacular

thought behind it,—all tend to draw the interest of the student of history towards this volume. It would be well if some one would recommend it to the notice of the Master of the Rolls. There is another early manuscript of Lantfrid, in Nero E. 1, but not so early as the above.



## III.

*A Life of Saint Swiðhun, reprinted from the Acta Sanctorum; Julii 2.*

*A Life of Saint Swiðhun, now printed for the first time, from the Arundel MS. (Brit. Mus.) No. 169.*

## VITA

AUCTORE\* GOTZELINO APUD  
SURIUM.

Collata cum ea, quæ est apud  
Capgraviu.

Vita Ep̃i et Conf. S̃ci Suithuni vii Nonas Julii.

*Glorioso rege Anglorum Egberto regnante, qui regi Kinegilso ab idolatria per beatum Birinum converso, octavus in regni administratione successit, beatus Swithunus, pater et pastor in Ecclesia Dei futurus, cursus sui in stadio mundi hujus exigendi, divina ordinante misericordia, accepit exordium. Annis verò puerilibus pia simplicitate transactis, jugum Dominicæ servitutis suis humeris imponi voluit susceptumque humiliter viriliterque portavit. Itaque in clerum adscitus, de gradu in gradum, de virtute in virtutem, gressus ejus Deo per omnia dirigente, conscen-*

*Glorioso rege Anglorum Egberto regnante, qui regi Kinegilso de idolatria per beatum Byrinum occidentalium Anglorum apostolum ad fidem converso, octavus successit in regnum, beatus Swithunus pater et pastor in Ecclesiâ Dei futurus cursus sui in stadio mundi hujus divinâ misericordiâ ordinante accepit exordium. Qui sicut scriptum est quia filius sapiens gloria patris est; honor parentum cognatorum gloria letitia propinquorum benè et sapienter vivendo factus est. Nam annis puerilibus in bona simplicitate et simplici bonitate transactis secundum Beati Jeremiæ sermonem qui dicit Beatus homo qui portaverit jugum ab adolescentia sua jugum Dominicæ servitutis arripere festinavit, susceptum humiliter viriliterque portavit, sciens secundum apostolum, Disciplinam in præsentem quidem non esse gaudii sed mæroris; postea vero pacatissimum fructum justitiæ exercitatis per eam retribui recognoscens quod in præsentem est momentaneum et leve passionis supra modum in sullimitate eternum gloriæ pondus operari. Suscepto denique clericatus officio, de gradu in gradum, de virtute in virtutem, gressus ejus Deo per omnia dirigente,*

\* In the XIth century, Gotzelin came over with Hermann bishop of Sarum, from St. Omer (ex cœnobio Sithiensi). He compiled Lives of Saints from old authors. His Lives became the authority with Malmesbury and others, who commonly followed Gotzelin.

*dens, sub Helmstano Wintonano episcopo, ad sacerdotii honorem provectus est. Porro autem curabat seipsum ministrum idoneum et probabilem Deo semper exhibere, verbum veritatis rectè et catholicè tractare, humanitati et mansuetudini studere, opera pietatis ante omnia exercere, non rectè neque ordine viventes virga castigationis corrigere, humiliter omnibus inservire.*

2. *Ejus fama ubi ad regis aures pervenit, ab illo accersitus est, et inter præcipuos amicos numeratus. Commendavitque ei rex filium suum Adulphum liberalibus disciplinis erudiendum, et sanctis moribus instruendum: quem postea subdiaconum ordinavit. Attamen patre ejus sine herede ex hac vita decedente, cum præter eum nullus alius heres superesset, Leone Pontifice dispen-*

conscendens, sub Helmestano venerabili Wentanæ civitatis episcopo ad honorem sacerdotii provectus est. Ministerii autem hujus perceptione sollicitus, curabat se ipsum ministrum probabilem Deo semper offerre, operarium inconfusibilem se non remissè exhibere, verbum veritatis catholice et recte tractare, omnia quæ de puteo hereticæ pravitatis oriuntur cautè et sedulè declinare, Benignitati et mansuetudini admodum inservire, opera pietatis inter omnia et super omnia exercere, sciens quia *pietas ad omnia utilis est promissionem habens vitæ quæ nunc est et futuræ*, scurrilitatem et vaniloquium prout valebat omnimodis exturbare, stulte et inordinate viventes virgâ correctionis increpare, divinâ et sæculari scientiâ præditus, ordinem morum, magisterium vitæ pro capacitate audientium valenter et humiliter omnibus ministrare. Unde factum est ut opinionis suavissimæ odor de prato sanctitatis ipsius emanans regi supradicto innotuerit, quem rex evocatum multimoda indagazione perlustrans probatum et cognitum in sinum amicitiae recepit: receptum inter amicos et familiares præcipuum sicut et prudentiorem consilio et fideliorem obsequio repererat habere jam cæpit. Sanctus verò Swithunus non illecebræ sæcularis non terreni honoris gratia regi assistens serviebat, sed quia sullimioribus potestatibus obediendum esse secundum apostolum et legebat et sciebat, et quia si sæpius à latere regis esset, indigentibus opem subventionis, regi consilia suggerendo, citius et valentius præstare potuisset. Commendavit autem ei rex filium suum nomine Athulfum et documentis litteralibus edocendum et sanctis moribus instruendum, tunc temporis quidem in ecclesia Dei Wintoniæ clericatus officio militantem postea vero succedente tempore in decessu patris, de ordine et gradu subdiaconi acceptum, permittente et annuente summo pontifice Beato Papà Leone, eo quod rex supradictus absque hærede præter ipsum solum obierit, genti Anglorum benigne et provide imperantem. Evoluto igitur aliquanto tem-

*santè, uxorem duxit. De-  
functo verò Helmstano  
Episcopo, omnium votis*

pore supradictus Helmestanus morti debitum solvens vitam finivit et cathedram episcopalem civitatis Wintoniæ superventuro pontifici vacuam dereliquit. Disponente autem Dei misericordia qui non deserit sperantes in se, qui vota supplicantium sibi quando vult miseratus exaudit, omnis ætas, omnis sexus, universa conditio, clerus ac populus Wentanæ civitatis eadem voluntate pari consilio petierunt a rege Athulfo Beatum Swithunum sibi donari in patrem et pastorem, scientia videlicet clarum, ornatum sapientia omni morum referrentes dignitate pollentem, felicem et civitatem et populum esse cui tam pius tam sanctus tam sapiens in regimen daretur ecclesiæ. Nec mora: rex Athulfus omnium petitioni assentiens et aggaudens Beatum Swithunum altorem et doctorem suum, ita enim eum solitus erat nominare, ut in quibusdam scriptis ipsius regis repperimus, ad se evocavit, petitionem omnium refert, quam canonicè quam ecclesiasticè quam desideranter ab omnibus petatur ostendit; Voluntati et petitioni tam devotæ tam sanctæ resistere non decere; de suo consilio et auxilio non debere diffidere; se paratum esse ad omnia faciendâ quæ jussit, nulla se ingressurum quæ ille operari vetuerit, illum sicut prius et modo magistrum et consiliarium habiturum, se totum de consilio ejus pendere, et omnia pro ipsius ordinatissima dispositione facturum. Annuit itaque humilis et Deo devotus Sacerdos regi petenti et jubenti; facere quod ab eo et ab omnibus rogatur intendit, tantum si rex adjutor Dei et sui sicut pollicebatur velit existere, si ecclesiam Dei et populum universum qui in manu ejus erat, secundum consilium Dei et suum sustentare aggrediatur et regere. Suscepta denique benedictione manu Dei Dorobernensium Archiepiscopo, magnæ auctoritatis et religionis viro nomine Celnodo, cum omni gaudio totius cleri et populi secundum institutionem canonicam impo- nente, honore pontificali honorifice sullimatus, de miti mitior, humilior de humili, de devoto devotior curabat existere. Pauperibus non superbe sed pie

*Swithunus electus est. Ejus precibus et exhortationibus rex Adulphus permotus, ecclesiis Dei universam decimam terræ regni sui benignè donavit, liberèque sibi vindicare concessit. Idem sanctus Episcopus pontem Wintoniensem, qui est ad Orientem, construxit. Cumque ei ædificando sollicitam navaret operam, quodam die, illo ad opus residente, quædam paupercula mulier eò venit, ova venalia in vase deferens: quam apprehensam operarii lascivientes et ludibundi, magno incommodo affecerunt, ovis universis non ereptis sed confractis. Illa igitur pro illata injuria et damno dato, cum lachrymis et ejulatu coram Episcopo conquerente, vir sanctus pietate permotus, vas, in quo erant reposita ova, corripit, dextra signum Crucis exprimit, ovaque*

et humiliter respondere, petentibus et pulsantibus consilii et auxilii manum non invitus porrigere, regi ut populum suum juste et benigne regat sedulus et officiosus assistere, Deum ut regem et gentem Anglorum in servitute sua pace et prosperitate bona conservet sine intermissione deposcere [non cessabat]<sup>marg.</sup>: Vere in eo impletum est quod scriptum reperitur, iste homo in populo suo mitissimus apparuit, iste est qui assidue orat pro fratribus et amator fratrum suorum commodus omnibus miseretur. Hujus oratione et exhortatione elementissimus et serenissimus jam dictus rex Athulfus ecclesiis Dei universam decimam terræ regni sui munificentissima devotione donavit, et quod liberaliter dedit libere possidere concessit. Speculationi vero et contemplationi divinæ interno dilectionis ardore cum assidue et intente inhiaret, activæ tamen disciplinæ operibus non minus insudabat pro oportunitate rei et temporis, utriusque exercitii opera variatione decentissima commutabat. Unde factum est, ut necessitate exigente de spiritualibus ad forinseca exiens utilitati communi civium sicut semper et aliquando provideret, pontemque ad orientalem portam civitatis arcibus lapideis opere non leviter ruituro construeret. Huic ergo operi cum sollicite et laboriose operam daret et incepto difficili consummationis finem addere festinaret, contigit residente illo ad opus quadam die pauperulam mulierem usque ad locum operis venire, ova venalia in vase deferre, ab operariis lascivientibus et ludentibus miseram apprehendi, ova universa non eripi sed confringi. Quæ cum ab eis qui sanioris intelligentiæ erant flens et ejulans pro dampno et illata sibi injuria, in præsentiam Domini episcopi sisteretur, motus pietate et misericordia beatus antistes vas in quo erant ova reposita sunit, dexteram levans signum crucis super ova composuit, signando celeri redintegratione incorrupta restituit. Mirari omnes qui aderant pro virtute ceperunt, paupera illa recuperato quod perdidit vehementer gaudere, qui autem dampnum intulerant resipiscere et stupere.

*incorrupta et integra restituit.*

3. *Solebat verò studiosè fabricare ecclesias iis locis, quibus non erant: porrò dirutas et confractas instaurare. Dedicaturus sacras ædes, non equo vehabatur sublimis; nec secularis pompæ apparatus sibi adhibebat: sed clericis et familiaribus suis comitantibus, nudis pedibus humiliter incedebat.*

*Ad convivia sua accersebat non locupletes, sed egenos et pauperes. Os ei semper apertum erat ad cohortandos peccatores ad agenda pœnitentiam. Monabat stantes, darent operam, ne caderent: lapsos, ut resurgerent. Cibum non ut ventrem farciret, sed pro sui sustentatione parcè et moderatè sumebat. Post multas vigilias multosque labores, ne deficeret, somni paululum admittebat, psalmis et canticis spiritualibus semper intentus. Proximis semper, perinde ac sibi ipsi, quod utile, quod honestum, pium et sanctum esset, modesto et humili sermone proponebat.*

*Vixit vir beatus usque ad vitæ exitum in vera observatione mandatorum Dei, omni custodia servans*

Ipsè amator et cultor sanctæ universalis Ecclesiæ ecclesias quibus in locis non erant studio ardentissimo pecuniis largè contraditis fabricabat, quæ vero semirutis et infractis parietibus destructæ jacebant dominicis cultibus desiderantissime reparabat. Quando dum oportunitas sibi dedicandi ecclesiam aliqua ministrabat, sicut semper et tunc in se humilitatis et devotionis argumentum probabile omnibus proponebat. Nam neque muli vel equi alicujus sæcularis pompæ sibi adhibens dignitatem, clericis ac familiaribus suis comitantibus tantum, nudis pedibus ad ecclesiam quam dedicaturus erat pro consuetudine sua humiliter properabat. Sed et hoc non die sed in nocte faciebat laudes et humanæ adulationis favores sapienter declinans, nolens esse cum eis vel inter eos de quibus dicitur quia amantes laudes hominum receperunt mercedem suam.

Convivia sua non cum locupletibus sed cum egenis et pauperibus erant, os suum semper apertum habebat ut invitaret peccatores ad pœnitentiam, stantes in statu bono ne cadere appetant, lapsos ut resurgere adiciant, suppellectile sui variata sermonis exhortans. Cibum non ad impletionem sed ad sustentationem sui parcè et moderate sumebat; sompnum ut ad servitium Dei reparatus assurgeret, post multas vigilias post multos labores ne deficeret paululum admittebat, psalmis et canticis spiritualibus semper intentus vigorem orationis continuæ nunquam deserebat; proximo semper tanquam sibi quod utile quod honestum quod pium quod sanctum in sanctionibus ecclesiasticis exequendum est humili et modesto sermone referebat.

Vixit igitur beatissimus Dei servus Swithunus a primitiis pubertatis suæ usque ad exitum vitæ in observatione vera mandatorum Dei, omni custodia

*cor suum in omni munditia et spiritali puritate, Catholicæ et Apostolicæ doctrinæ custos integer, filiorum spiritaliter regeneratorum in sanctæ conversationis studio eruditor pervigil et magister. Humilitatem et mansuetudinem accuratius sectabatur. Denique pacem et sanctimoniam sequens, fontem vitæ et sempiternæ beatitudinis sitiēbat. Atque ita feliciter migravit ab hoc seculo ad sidereas mansiones sexto Nonas Julii, anno salutis octingentesimo sexagesimo secundo. Jussit verò non intrâ ecclesiam, sed extra ejus septa, indigno et vili loco se tumulari.*

4. *Post obitum suum multis coruscavit miraculis: inter quæ apparuit cuidam viro incredibili membrorum omnium infirmitate laboranti, admonens, ut Ethelwoldum Wintoniensem Episcopum adiret, diceretque ei divinæ providentiæ ita visum, ut corpus ipsius à loco, in quo conditum erat, sublatum, intrâ ecclesiam digniori loco honorificentius tumuletur. Si diffidat et hæsitet, testimonii loco habiturum sanitatem, quam, profligato*

conservans cor suum in omni munditia et puritate spiritali, Catholicæ et Apostolicæ doctrinæ custos integer, filiorum spiritaliter regeneratorum in sanctæ conversationis studio eruditor pervigil et magister. Et cum nulla fere virtus haberetur ejus apicem ipse non attigisset, humilitati tamen et mansuetudini curiosius inherebat, pacem et sanctimoniam sequens, fontem vitæ et beatitudinis eternæ sitiēbat, ad bravium supernæ vocationis anhelans vitam in pace finire cupiebat. Bene igitur et sancte domo et ecclesia Dei cui ipse pater et pastor piissimus præerat, secundum ritus ecclesiasticos ordinata et ordinatissime confirmata, victor carnis, mundi perfuga, de corona securus, de incolatu hujus sæculi exiens, regnante in tertio anno Anglorum Rege Athelberto gloriosi regis Athulfi filio, feliciter migravit, exultans et gaudens quia a domino Deo dictum est sibi *Euge serre bone et fidelis quia super pauca fuisti fidelis supra multa te constituam, intra in gaudium Domini tui.* Quod vero vitium exaltationis in vita sua omnimodis declinaverit, et virtutem vilitatis et humiliationis bonæ potissimum coluerit, et colens amaverit, in fine vitæ suæ de sepultura sua præcipiens aperto indicio ad exemplum subditorum indicare curavit. Nam neque intra ecclesiæ septa neque in præminentiori parte cimiterii sed extra ecclesiam in indigniori quæ in plebes vilioribus patebat æqualiter se tumulari præcepit, sciens a domino dictum quia *qui se exaltaverit humiliabitur et qui se humiliaverit exaltabitur.* Exivit autem de ergastulo hujus sæculi anno ab incarnatione Dominica octingentesimo sexagesimo secundo, indictione decima regnante eodem D<sup>no</sup> N<sup>ro</sup> Ihu Xto, cui est honor et gloria cum Deo Patre et Spiritu Sancto per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Explicit vita S. Swithuni Epi etc.

fol. 28 29 30 new.  
36 37 38 old.

*eadem hora morbo, quo diu laborasset, illico esset recuperaturus. Addidit etiam, ut ad locum sepulturæ veniat, unum ex ferreis annulis, qui etiamnum lapidi infixi visuntur, sine ulla lapidis læsione extracturus, rursusque pari facilitate, nihil læso lapide, in suum locum repositurus. Surgit ille perfectè sanus: uti prædicta erant, omnia reperit, cunctaque ex ordine Episcopo enarrat. Incurvum quemdam, et pecudum more, prono vultu terram respectantem, sanum et incolumem reddidit. Vir quidam nobilis et dives, cum meridiano tempore ad fluminis ripam deambulare, vidit subitò apparentes sibi tres ultra modum horrendas quasi mulieres staturâ immensâ. Eæ fugientem illum comprehendentes, et multis modis affligentes, pestiferoque flatu suo penè suffocantes, incredibili horrore affectum, insano similem reddiderunt. Adducto autem ad ecclesiam, nocte apparuit sanctus Swithunus, et omni pulso dolore, sanitati eum restituit.*

5. *Cum Ethelwoldus Episcopus corpus beati viri è terra levaret, mira odoris fragrantia omnes pervasit, mulier cæca visum recepit, et multi diversis pressi ægri tudinibus, ejus meritis curati sunt. Ea translatio incidit in annum centesimum decimum ab obitu illius, Incarnationis verò Dominicæ nongentesimum septuagesimum primum, viii Idus Julii. Eodem die puerum, à natiuitate mirabiliter contractum, sanavit: tribus mulieribus, oculorum lumine orbatis, visum restituit: nexibus ferreis mulierem in carcere compeditam, ruptis vinculis, liberavit: paralyticum curavit: matronam nobilem, sed cæcam, illuminavit: viginti quinque homines variis vexatos morbis, qui è locis diversis venerant, uno die perfectè restituit: cæcos aliquot, duas contractas feminas intrâ unum diem: triginta et sex è diversis locis venientes, nec unius generis laborantes ægri tudinibus, trium dierum spatio: neque diu post, centum viginti quatuor, intra dies quatuordecim curavit.*

6. *Rex Edgarus ob coërcenda furta lege sanxit, ut in furto deprehensus, oculis privaretur, auribus, manibus pedibusque præcisis, cute capitis nudaretur, sicque feris et avibus laniandus objiceretur. Accidit verò, innocentem quendam eâ pœnâ mulctatum, penè amittere auditum, obstructis sanguine aurium meatibus. Delatus à parentibus in oratorium S. Swithuni, ut solus auditus ei redderetur, non id modo impetravit, sed etiam alia, quæ non rogaverat. Mulierem quamdam dormientem ostio aperto in villa civitatis Wintoniensis, lupus è lecto absportavit in sylvam, et horrendo ululatu alios ad se lupos accivit. Mulier et inedia et ætate debilis, quid faceret, ignorabat. Convertitur ad preces, divinam implorat opem, S. Swithunum appellat. Lupus, ejus audito nomine, obdormivit: mulier se subducit: lupus erigilans, cum sociis eam insequitur, sed lædere non potuit, quam Dei et beati Pontificis misericordia liberandam susceperat.*

7. *Statuam quamdam S. Swithuni Episcopus Schireburnensis à fratribus*

*acquisitam, honorificè in ecclesia sua collocavit, ubi præclara miracula crebrò edi solebant. Ad hanc statuam quidam leprosus non curationis obtinendæ causâ, sed ut ab illis, qui eo in loco preces funderent, stipem acciperet, accessit. Cumque paululum illic obdormivisset, visum est ei, S. Swithunum adesse, lepram ipsius manu abstergere, et morbum illum omnem repente ab ipso depellere. Evigilans, lætus coram omnibus cingulum solvit, et se purgatum ostendit.*

## NOTE.

Of these two Lives, that which is now printed for the first time, from the Arundel manuscript, seems to be the older. The more succinct narrative from the Acta Sanctorum, which is here printed in Italics, has the appearance of an epitome made from the other, rather than of an original from which the other was expanded. It abbreviates the narrative of the Life, but is elongated at the end by a considerable "*Post obitum.*" This appendix has features of a late date, especially in the last two paragraphs; and as the style of the whole composition is homogeneous, the probable date of the whole is lowered accordingly.

In illustration of this I would point to what is said in paragraph 6, of the severity or rather atrocity of Eadgar's law for the punishment of theft. The statement is not borne out either by the Saxon laws in general, or by Edgar's in particular:—and it could not be made out of the Saxon Statute-book, but by putting together scattered and unconnected passages. After the Conquest, and under the feudal system, such barbarities became familiar. In the Saxon laws maiming is certainly named, in aggravated cases, both earlier and later than Eadgar, in the laws both of Ine and of Cnut. The penalty of death is moreover incurred, where the officers of the law have been

impeded in their duties either by trickery or defiance. But, as a general rule in Saxon times, theft was punishable by restitution and fine; the latter amounting sometimes to entire confiscation. So effective were these enactments, that in the laws of Eadmund, who reigned but a few years before Eadgar, we have an explicit statement that theft had become comparatively rare. The extant laws of Eadgar are remarkable, not for their atrocity, but for their humanity and prudence. As regards theft, they are preventive much more than deterrent. No doubt justice was vigorously administered in the reign of Eadgar, and the popular confusion of justice with rigour may have begotten the mythical severity of Eadgar's punishments. Or else some Norman monk devised this picture of the administration of a reign often appealed to in Saxon tradition. For the posthumous celebrity of Eadgar was great and longlived; although it did not, like that of Alfred, altogether defy the lapse of time. Under him this country attained the highest degree of good government and general well-being, which it has ever known, up to a short while ago. Malmesbury well concludes his account of Eadgar's reign with these pregnant words; *post mortem ejus res et spes Anglorum retro sublapsæ.*



## IV.

*From Rudborne's Annales Ecclesiae Wintoniensis. A few selected passages concerning Winchester Cathedral and Saint Swiðhun and the priory called after him.*

639. Kinewalchus . . . . ecclesiam pulcherrimam construxit in Wyntoniâ.
837. Edulfus . . . . totam terram de dominico suo decimavit, et decimam quamque hidam contulit Conventualibus Ecclesiis per regionem.
872. Eluredus filius Edulfi Rex Angliæ. Iste fecit in Wintoniâ in cæmiterio Episcopalis Ecclesie Novum monasterium; quod multis ditatum possessionibus S. Grimbaldo dedit, ut sic illum retineret in Angliâ. Iste Regum [? Regnum] Anglorum ante dies suos rude et incompositum, totum erudivit et informavit ad regulam. In proverbiiis ita enituit, ut nemo post illum amplius. Rex Eluredus sepultus est in Novo Monasterio apud Wintoniam.
959. Edgarus—Rex Angliæ. Non fuit in Angliâ Monasterium sive Ecclesia, cuius non emendaret cultum vel ædificia. In Wintoniensi Ecclesiâ et Novo Monasterio (quod nunc ab eventu dicitur de Hidâ) Monachos posuit loco Clericorum; quia Clerici illi nomine tenus Canonici frequentationem chori, labores vigiliarum et ministerium altaris Vicariis suis utcumque sustentatis relinquentes, et ab Ecclesie conspectu ne dicam Dei plerunque absentes septennio, quicquid de Præbendis percipiebant locis et modis sibi placitis absumebant. Nuda fuit Ecclesia intus et extra; quia Vicarii non habebant unde eam vestirent et tegerent, nec Præbendarii qui prædicabantur talibus poterant intendere: vix inveniretur unus et is fortè coactus, qui vel pauperem pallam aut calicem quinque solidorum conferret altari. Rex Edgarus ista considerans &c.
1035. Rex Canutus dedit Wintoniensi Ecclesie terram trium hidarum quæ vocatur Hille, et feretrum ad reliquias S. Birini magnum et magni &c.
1043. *Queen Emma's circular to the bishops from Wherwell, where she was detained by order of her son Edward Conf.*—Bonam conscientiam publicè impetitam de crimine non debere nisi publicâ satisfactione purgari, placere sibi candentis ferri examen. Tantum apponant, ut Rex jubeat examen fieri in Ecclesiâ S. Suithuni Wintoniensis. Securam se esse de Sancti suffragio pro conscientie testimonio. . . . .  
. . . . Regina de mandato Regis reducta est Wintoniam de Warewellâ; et totâ nocte proximè præcedente diem agonis sui pervigilavit ad sepulchrum S. Swithuni. Non est opus ut dicam, quod toto corde oraverit, quod parum nocte illâ dormierit, quod vota fecerit, ut in tanto

mereretur salvari discrimine. Et tamen dormire nolens dormitavit paululum, et vidit B. Swithunum sibi assistentem, et hæc audivit dicentem sibi. Constans esto filia; ego sum Swithunus quem invocas; ego tecum sum, ne paveas. Confundentur qui te persequentur; quia cum transieris per ignem, flamma non nocebit te. Tu autem remittes hanc noxam filio tuo. Die facto convenit ad Ecclesiam Clerus et populus; et Rex ipse sedebat pro tribunali. Regina producitur ante filium; et an velit prosequi quod promiserat, convenitur. Quæ, . . . . . “Domine,” inquit, “et fili. Ego illa Emma quæ te genui, pro te de tuis impetita de crimine in te et Eluredum filios meos, et de consensu turpitudinis et prodicionis cum hujus sedis Episcopo, invoco hodie Deum testem in corpus meum, ut peream, si quid horum quæ mihi imposita sunt vel mente commiserim.” In pavimento Ecclesiæ scopato novem vomeres igne candentes ponuntur in ordine. Quibus breviter benedictis, subtrahuntur Reginae calcei et caligæ; et posito peplo et rejecto flamine succinta à duobus hinc inde Episcopis ducebatur ad tormentum. Flebant qui eam ducebant Episcopi; et qui multo plus timebant quam illa, animabant illam ut non timeret. Fit per Ecclesiam fletus intolerabilis; et fuit omnium vox una dicentium *S. Swithune, S. Swithune, tu illam adjuva*. Si interim reboassent tonitrua, non audirentur à populo; tantis viribus tantis vocibus clamabatur in cælum, ut S. Swithunus vel tunc vel nunquam festinanter accurreret. Deus vim patitur, et servus suus Swithunus extrahitur violenter de cælo. Regina sine clamore hanc incendo faciebat orationem. *Deus qui liberasti Susannam de senibus iniquis, qui liberasti tres pueros de camino ignis, tu de incendio mihi parato per merita S. Swithuni me liberare digneris*. Videte miraculum. Episcopis pedes illius dirigentibus, super novem vomeres novem passus faciens, et singulos eorum totius corporis pleno premens pondere, sic omnes supergressa vomeres nec ferrum nudum nec sensit incendium. . . . .

. . . . Regina Emma donata omnibus Maneriis dotis suæ, quæ illi priores Reges confirmaverunt, non est oblita liberatoris sui; deditque ipsa die S. Swithuni in oblationem pro ix vomeribus ix maneria &c. . . . Elwinus Episcopus de suo patrimonio dedit S. Swithuno alia ix maneria. . . . Rex ipse Edwardus donationes Reginae et Episcopi ratas habuit et confirmavit; et insuper de suo dominico dedit S. Swithuno duo maneria. . . . Regina et Episcopus certabant se invicem superare in ornamentis faciendis Ecclesiæ S. Swithuni de thesauris suis. Sed ille superatus est; quia vel illa plus potuit, vel plus dilexit decorum domus Dei.

1052. Emma Regina migravit à sæculo, et sepulta est in Ecclesiâ S. Swithuni Wintoniensis.

1079. Walkelinus Episcopus à fundamentis Wintoniensem cæpit reædificare Ecclesiam.
1093. In præsentia omnium ferè Episcoporum atque Abbatum Angliæ cum maximâ exultatione et gloriâ de veteri Monasterio Wintoniensi ad novum venerunt Monachi vi Idus Aprilis. Ad festum verò S. Swithuni factâ processione de novo Monasterio ad vetus, tulerunt inde feretrum S. Swithuni, et in novo honorificè collocaverunt. Sequenti verò die Domini Walkelini Episcopi cæperunt homines primum vetus frangere Monasterium; et fractum est totum in illo anno, excepto portico uno et magno altari.
1241. Feretrum S. Swithuni fractum est flabello de turri cadente, Reliquiæ ejus Sancti ostensæ sunt xvi Cal. Junii.
1248. Item v Cal. Junii, in die Ascensionis, cecidit flabellum de turri S. Swithuni, quando classicum vespertinum pulsabatur, et ferè contrivit J. Monachum.
1274. Robertus Archiepiscopus Cant. causâ visitationis transitum suum faciens per Episcopatum Wintoniensem in crastino S. Katarinæ venit Wintoniam; et ibi a Domino Episcopo loci ac Clero et populo honorifice susceptus est cum processione. Qui feriâ iii et feriâ iv sequentibus suam visitationem in Prioratu S. Swythuni, et feria v in Abbatiâ Sanctimonialium B. Mariæ ibidem, et iii Non. Decemb. in Abbatiâ de Hidâ. Inde progrediens per alia monasteria ipsius Episcopatus, celebravit Festum Nativitatis Domini apud Byterne manerium Episcopi Wintoniensis prope Suthamptoun.

## NOTE.

The 'novum monasterium,' or New Minster, founded by king Alfred in 872, as said above, was situated to the north of the Old Minster or Cenwall's foundation, mentioned above, A. D. 639. The Old Minster stood somewhat to the north of its present representative, the Cathedral, the site of which was chosen by bishop Walkelin (*above*, 1079). If northward of the Cathedral we imagine the Old Minster, we have then only the space between this site and the bounds of the cemetery, for placing the New Minster, which is expressly said above to have been *in cimiterio Episcopalis Ecclesie*. Thus it appears that the Old and New Minsters must have stood side by side on that

greensward on the north of the Cathedral. I am assured by Dr. Moberly that there are sufficient topographical reasons for rejecting the idea that the bounds of the cemetery have been reduced. In the course of time, the situation of New Minster was found inconvenient, and it was removed to the Hyde Meadows outside the town, and so it changed its name to Hyde Abbey, as above noted by Rudborne, under A. D. 959, "quod nunc ab eventu dicitur de Hidâ." [Under 1093 the term 'novum monasterium' is used, not of the New Minster, but of bishop Walkelin's new buildings for the Old Minster.]

## V.

*An unpublished metrical Life of Saint Swiðhun, of the thirteenth century. It is from the Bodleian Manuscript, Laud 463. fol. 63.*

Seint Swithin þ<sup>e</sup> confessor; was her in Engeland;  
 Biside Winchestre he was bore; as I vnderstond.  
 Seint Swithin þis holy man; wel 3ong<sup>1</sup> bigan;  
 ffor to serue Ihū Crist. & bicom Cristen man;  
 Elmeston þe bisshop; of Winchestre þ<sup>t</sup> was þo<sup>2</sup>; 5  
 Seint Swithin he made preost; as he dide oþer mo.  
 His godenesse was wide y-kid oueral<sup>3</sup> in eche side;  
 So þ<sup>t</sup> it com þ<sup>e</sup> king to ere; & sprong aboute wide.  
 þe king him honored swiþe wel; & louede him y-now;  
 & made him his chief conseiler; & mest to his consail drow; 10  
 Aldulf<sup>4</sup> his sone & his eir; he tok him to loke<sup>5</sup>;  
 to norisshe & to warde wel; þ<sup>t</sup> he to gode toke.  
 þo þe king Egbert was ded; þe child Aldulf his sone;  
 After him was king y-mad; as lawe was & wone<sup>6</sup>;  
 þis 3ong king was god y-now; as seint Swithin him gan rede; 15  
 After his conseil al he drow; & bi him dide al his dede.  
 Engeland was þo wel y-wist<sup>7</sup>; for þ<sup>e</sup> king was [god] y-now;  
 And seint Swithin his conseiler; after him he drou.  
 Elmeston þe bisshop sithe; of Winchestre was ded;  
 þe king & othere heye men; þer of nome her red<sup>8</sup>. 20  
 þis holy man seint Swithin; bisshop þe[i] made þere;  
 Alle men þ<sup>t</sup> him knewe; ioyeful þer of were.  
 Bisshop he was god y-now; & alle gode he wroughte;  
 þe king also to alle gode; holy chirche broughte.  
 So þ<sup>t</sup> þorw heste of þe king; & his wissing<sup>9</sup> also; 25  
 Eche man wolde þorw þe lond; his teching wel do.  
 Broken chirches also oueral; seint Swithin let arere<sup>10</sup>;  
 & newe chirches moni stede; þer neuer er non nere.  
 Whan he hadde halwed any chirche; bost nolde he non;  
 bi nighte o fote wel myldeliche; þider he wolde gon. 30  
<sup>11</sup>A3ein him kepte he no rynging; ne bobaunce ne pride.  
 Ne bost of hors ne of squiers; for he tolde þerto bot lite.  
 he þought on þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> gospel seiþ; þat men takeþ litel hede.  
 þ<sup>t</sup> whoso doþ his dede for bobaunce; tit<sup>12</sup> he non oþer mede.

Ffor he afongeþ his mede here; wiþ þe dede anon<sup>13</sup>. 35  
 þat word have nou forȝeten; þis heye men echon<sup>14</sup>.  
 Seint Swithin his bisshopriche; to al godnesse drow  
 þe toun also of Winchestre; he amended y now  
 ffor he let þe strong brigge; withoute þe est ȝate arere.  
 and fond þerto lym and stoñ; & werkmen þ<sup>t</sup> þer were. 40  
 A day as þe werkmen; aboute here<sup>15</sup> werk stod.  
 & the countrey men to cheping<sup>16</sup>; com w<sup>t</sup> mucche god.  
 wiþ a bagge ful of eyren<sup>17</sup>; a woman þer com.  
 A masone sone þis woman; in his folie nom.  
 And biclipte hire in ribaudie; as foles ȝet doth ofte. 45  
 & brak hire eyren ney echone; he handeled hire not softe.  
 þo þ<sup>e</sup> woman hire harme sey<sup>18</sup>; kenliche heo gan biginne.  
 ffor she hem hadde gadered longe; som silver to winne.  
 Sheo made þo deol y now; & criede also on hey;  
 Seint Swithin come þo þer forþ; & þ<sup>e</sup> deol y sey. 50  
 Of þ<sup>e</sup> woman he had reuthe; he nom up his hond anon<sup>19</sup>.  
 & blessed þ<sup>e</sup> eiren that weren to broke<sup>20</sup>; & þei bicom hole echon.  
 As sounde as þei er were; þei bicomte atte laste.  
 Glad was þo þis seli<sup>21</sup> woman; & þanked god ful faste.  
 þe king Aldulf dyede sithe; þe kinges sone Egbert; 55  
 & his sone was king after him; þ<sup>t</sup> het Adelbert.  
 It was long afterwards; þ<sup>t</sup> he was made king;  
 þ<sup>t</sup> þis holy man seint Swithin; ne\* drow to his ending. \* sic MS.  
 ffor he diede in þe thridde ȝer; þ<sup>t</sup> he was king mad.  
 & þo he sholde hennes; his folk fast he bad. 60  
 þat þei ne sholde him beric; In chirche wiþ no pride;  
 Ac somwher wiþoute in a stede; þat men tolde of lite.  
 he diede eyghte hondred ȝer; and in þe sixteþe ȝer;  
 After þat oure lord alighte; In his moder here.  
 In a stede wiþoute chirche; þat holy body þei leide. 65  
 In a stede þ<sup>t</sup> men told of lite; As himself seide.  
 þere he lay an hondred ȝer; & nine ȝer þerto;  
 and almost fourtene; er he were þennes do.  
 bi þe kinges day Edgar; þat god man was y now;  
 þ<sup>t</sup> seint Edwardes fader was; þat his stepmoder slow<sup>22</sup>. 70  
 þis holy man seint Swithin; shewed bi toknyng;  
 þat men sholde of þilk place; In hey stede him bringe.  
 þo bisshop þ<sup>t</sup> was of Winchestre; þo king Edward was king  
 þat was seint Athelwold; holy man þorw alle þing.

Seint Swithin þe holy man; in god time gan him biseo; 75  
 Whan god king was & goed\* bisshop; y chosen for to beo. \* sic MS.  
 A night he com to an holy man; In his bedd as he lay;  
 In seknesse sore y now; as he hadde beo many day.  
 Aris he seide to morwe sone; & leve þou not bihynde.  
 To Winchestre to þe olde mynstre; and þer þou shalt fynde. 80  
 þe gode bisshop Athelwold; þat þe teþe is after me.  
 And sey þat I him grete wel; & sende him word bi þe.  
 þat oure lord it haþ biseye; þat my body shal be do;  
 In chirche in an heye stede; and no more ligge so.  
 And if þou doutest in any point; þat it beo dwelsing<sup>23</sup>; 85  
 And not soþ þat I telle þe; I wile þe take toknyng.  
 ffor as sone as þou wilt ryse; for to do myn heste;  
 þat yvel þat þou hast long had; shal no longer leste.  
 þou worthest<sup>24</sup> þere hol & sound; werld withouten ende.  
 If þe bisshop leove þe nought<sup>25</sup>; Other signe I wile hym sende. 90  
 ffor 3e come to þ<sup>t</sup> stede; þer I ligge 3ette;  
 Anoward me liþ a stoñ; ac oþer pride wel litte.  
 Ringes of yren þer beoþ onne; Nayled þer to wel faste.  
 Ac þer nis non so strong þ<sup>t</sup> shal; A3eins 3ou y laste.  
 þis gode man of þis tokning; joyeful was y now. 95  
 Wel bi tyme he aros; & toward þe weye drow.  
 Anon so<sup>26</sup> he dide him in þe weye; hol & sound he was;  
 Of þe yvel þ<sup>t</sup> he hadde so long; y greved never he nas<sup>27</sup>.  
 To þe bisshop Athelwold he went; & told him of þat cas;  
 þe bisshop þo he herde þis; joyeful þer of was. 100  
 þe ringes þat were in þe ston; fast as he seide er;  
 lightlich hii tok uþ w<sup>t</sup>outen wemme; & as faste sette it þer.  
 wel þe joye þ<sup>t</sup> he made; þis holy Athelwolde.  
 þis miracle was sone y kid; & sone aboute tolde.  
 Seint Athelwold went sone to Edgar þe gode king. 105  
 and tolde him as was right; þis holy tiþing<sup>28</sup>.  
 þis gode king was glad y now; þei nome hem to rede;  
 hou þei might wiþ mest honour; do þat holy dede.  
 þei assigned a day þer to; as here conseil bi say;  
 bifore hervest in þe moneth of Julij; þe fifteneþ day. 110  
 þei somond a3ein þilke day; heye men y now þer to;  
 bisshopes & abbotes; þat holy dede to do.  
 þo þei come to Wynchestre; þer þis holy body lay;  
 In fasting & orisons; þei were night & day;

þat oure lord hem sende grace; þat holy dede wel ende. 115  
 þo þe day was y come; to þe mynstre þei gonne wende;  
 I reuested fair y now; wiþ gret deuocion;  
 wiþ tapers y tend<sup>29</sup> & cros; wiþ fair procession;  
 To þe tombe þei went sone; þer þat holy body lay;  
 as it fel in moneþ of July; þe fifteneþ day. 120  
 þe bisshop Athelwold; as right was to do;  
 let delue to þis holy body; & þo þei come þer to;  
 þer com smyte<sup>30</sup> out a suete breþ; among þe men echon;  
 þat so gret swetnesse him thought; þei smelled never non.  
 Lord michel is þi might; soþ it is seid; 125  
 þat a body sholde so swete smelle; þat so long had beo ded.  
 3e wite bi oþere dede mon; þat it was muche aþein right<sup>31</sup>.  
 a blind woman wiþ þe dede; anon in þe place hadde her sight.  
 And many oþere botened<sup>32</sup> eke; of pine & of wo.  
 And wiþinne ten dayes; two hondred & mo. 130  
 þis holy body was up y nome; wiþ gret honor y wis;  
 and to Seint Petres chirche y bore; þer þe heye mynstre is.  
 and don in a noble shrine; þer as it lith 3ite;  
 þe miracles þat of him comeþ; for soþ beoth not lite.  
 Ishrined<sup>33</sup> he was nine hondred 3er; & in þe on & twentyþ 3ere 135  
 After þ<sup>t</sup> oure lord on erthe alighte; in his moder here.  
 Now seint Swithin þat was bisshop; here in Engelonde.  
 bringe us to þe joye of heuene; þorw oure lordes sonde.

## NOTES.

- <sup>1</sup> young.                   <sup>2</sup> that was then bishop of Winchester.                   <sup>3</sup> widely celebrated every where.  
<sup>4</sup> Æðelwulf.                   <sup>5</sup> he (Egbert) committed to him (Swiðhun) that he might look after him  
 (Æðelwulf), attend to him and guard him, in order that the youth might take to good ways.  
<sup>6</sup> custom; wout.                   <sup>7</sup> well-governed.                   <sup>8</sup> thereupon took their counsel.                   <sup>9</sup> advising,  
 direction.                   <sup>10</sup> caused to be reared up, set up, restored.                   <sup>11</sup> At his arrival he cared not to  
 have any ringing, nor pomp, nor style, nor ostentatious gathering of horses and squires; for he counted  
 such things but little worth.                   <sup>12</sup> *Qu.?* A. S. *tilt*=he claims; or, *tisc̅c̅*, he giveth; or, as in  
 Chaucer, Troilus and Creseide, i. 334; "*tite him*"=chanceth to him: should it be here *tit him* instead  
 of *tit he?* Obscure.                   <sup>13</sup> at the time, at the same moment.                   <sup>14</sup> each one.                   <sup>15</sup> their.  
<sup>16</sup> market.                   <sup>17</sup> eggs.                   <sup>18</sup> when the woman her misfortune saw, shrilly she began (to cry).  
<sup>19</sup> at once, immediately.                   <sup>20</sup> Judges ix. 53.                   <sup>21</sup> Originally, *blessed*,—here, *simple*; as we  
 should now say, "this good woman," not laying much stress on the adjective. Modern, *silly*. See p. 17.  
<sup>22</sup> slew.                   <sup>23</sup> delusion.                   <sup>24</sup> thou becomest, i. e. shalt become, whole, &c.                   <sup>25</sup> believe  
 thee not.                   <sup>26</sup> Immediately when.                   <sup>27</sup> was not.                   <sup>28</sup> tidings.                   <sup>29</sup> kindled, lighted.  
<sup>30</sup> ? suddenly.                   <sup>31</sup> ye wot by other dead men, that it [such sweetness] is much against law;  
 preternatural.                   <sup>32</sup> relieved: cf. Sir F. Madden's Glossary to Layamon; v. bote, boten, *remedy*.  
<sup>33</sup> shrined or enshrined. The 'I' here, and above, line 117, is only the participial prefix, formerly *ge-*;  
 but at this date *i* or *y*.

## POSTSCRIPT TO NO. V.

In the Library of Trinity College, Oxford \*, there is an interesting volume of Saints' Lives in early English verse, and among them a Life of S. Swiðhun, cognate to the version given above, but varying in several particulars. In some parts, especially at the opening, it departs from the version above for several lines together. It is in a later handwriting, but its orthography and many of its expressions are more archaic. I conclude that it was produced in a remoter part of the country, where early forms kept their ground longer. I am inclined to hazard the conjecture that it exhibits the dialect of West Somersetshire or Devonshire. The reference is, Arch. 57. Fol. 66 a.

*Vita Sci Swithini*    Seint Swethyn þe confessor. was her' in engelonde.  
 Be side Wynchestr' he was y bore. as ich understonde.  
 By þe kynges daye Egberd. þis guode man was y bore.  
 þat þo was kyng in Engelond. & somewhat eke by fore.  
 þe eyztende 3er kyng he was. þat com after Kenewold kyng. } *This couplet*  
 þat seint Berin dude to e'stendom. to engelond ferst bryng. } *is corrupt.*

¶ Ae seint Austyn hadde to fore. to e'stendom y bro3t.  
 Athelbri3t þe guode kyng. ae al þe lond no3t.  
 and supþe it was þat seint Berin. her' by weste wende.  
 and t'ude þe kyng Kenewold. as oure lord him g'ee sende.

¶ So þat Egberd þat was kyng. þo seint Swithyn was i bore.  
 þe eyztende was after Kenewold. þat so longe was by fore.  
 Seint Swithyn þis holy man. swiþe 3ong be gan.  
 Ffor to seruy ihū e'st. and by come e'stene man.  
 Elmeston þe bisehop eke. of Wynchestr' þat was þo.  
 Seint Swithyn he makede prest. as he dude oþ'e mo.

¶ So þat f'm ordre to oþ'. seint Swithyn p'st be com.  
 Clene lyf he ladde and guod. & to gret penanee nom.  
 His guodnesse was wyde y kud. aboute in eeche syde.  
 So þat it com þe kyng' to ere. and spronge a boute wyde.  
 þe kyng' him hon'ede swiþe wel. & louede him y nou3.

*Lines 33 and 34 run thus (confirming my conjecture on the last page, which was in print before I saw this MS.):*

He þo3te on þat þe gospel sais. þat me takeþ litel hede.  
 þat who so deþ his dede w<sup>t</sup> bobance. ne tyt him non oþ' mede.

*Between lines 54 and 55 the following profane couplet:*

Mi3te eyrenmongeres fare now so. þe baldeloker hy my3te.  
 Lepe ouer dich wher so hy wolde. & boþe wrastly & fy3te.

\* I have much pleasure in acknowledging the kind assistance which I received from the President, Dr. Wilson, in my examination of this manuscript.



*Lines 57 and 58 are correctly expressed:*

It was noȝt longe afterward. þat he was y mad kyng.  
þat þis holy man Seint Swithyn. drouȝ to his endyng.

*Line 100 has the same sense, but in a highly archaic manner:*

þe bischop þo he herde þis. wel was him þas.

*The more noticeable variations are,*

<i>Line 2 (and oft) in Bodleian MS. . . I</i>		<i>Trin. Coll. MS. . . ich</i>
6	made	makede
7	godenesse . . ykid	guodnesse . . y kud
12	norisshe . . warde	norschy . . wardy
18	him	wham
21	þe	hy
36	nou	now
39	þe strong	þat strong
47	kenliche	reuliche
80	shalt	schelt
81	teþe	tende
85	point . . dwelsinge	poynt . . metinge
89	worhest	worst
102	lightlich hii tok uþ w'touten wemme	liȝtliche hy op nome w'toute wem
103	þis holy Athelwolde	þo bischop Adelwold
106	tipping	tiding
110	fifteneþ	fiftende
111	somond	sompnede
116	mynstre þei	menstre hy
117	fair	faire
118	y tend	y tent
123	sucte	swete
124	þei smelled never non	ne smelde hy never non
125	micel	moche
127	aȝein right	aȝe riȝt
129	botened . . pine	botnede . . euel
132	þer	þas
133	don . . shrine	y don . . schrine
135	nine	neghene
138	þorw	þorgh

## VI.

*Life of S. Swiðhun, printed in Carton's Golden Legende, A. D. 1483.*

**Here foloweth the lyf of fainte Swythune byffhop/**

**S**Aint fwythyne the holi confessor was born besydes Wynchester in the time of faint egberte kinge/ he was the vij kynge after kenulf that faynt byryne cryftened For faint austin cryftened not alle englond in faynt athelbertus daies But faint byryne cryftened the Weste partye of englond in the dayes of kenulf the kyng · & at tyme thys holy Saynt Swythyne ferued our lady fo deuoutely / that all peple that knewe hym / had grete Joye of his holynesse: And elmeston that was in that tyme byffhop of Wynchestre made hym preest / & theñe he lyued a strayer lyuyng than he dyd byfore / And he became thenne fo holy in liuing that kynge egbert made hym his chaunceler / And chyef of his counseyll & sette ethulf his sone & his heier vnder his rule & gudyng / & prayed hym to take hede to hym that he myght be brought vp vertuoufly / And wythin fhort tyme after the kyng deyed / & theñe his sone ethulf was made kynge after him / & he guded this londe ful well & wysely that it encreased gretly in good lyuyng through the coũfeill of faint fwythyne / & whan elmeston the byffhop of Wynchestre was dede: Swythyne was made byffhop there after hym wherof the people were full glad / & by his holy lyuyng he caused y<sup>e</sup> peple to lyue vertuoufly · And to paye truely theyr tythes to god & holy chirche And yf ony chirche fyll down or was in decay / faint fwythyne wold anone amēde it at his owne cost / Or yf ony chirche were not halowed he wold goo thyder a fote and halowe it / For he louyd no pride ne to ride on gay hors / ne to be prayfed ne flatred of the peple whyche in this dayes fuche thynges be vfed ouer moche god ceasse it: Saint Swythyne guded full well his byffhopryche and dyd moche good to y<sup>e</sup> toun of Wynchestre in his tyme: He dyd do make without y<sup>e</sup> weste gate of the toun a fayr brydge of stone at his propre cost / And on a tyme there came a woman ouer the brydge wyth her lappe full of egges: & a \*rechelles felaw stroglyd and wrestelyd wyth her / & brake all her egges / And it happed that this holy byffhop came that waye the fame time: & bad the woman lete hym see her egges / And anone he lyfte vp his honde and blessyd the egges / & the were made hooll and founde euerychon by the merytes of this holy byffhop / And beyng thenne gladde thanked god & thys holy man for the myracle that was don to her / & foone after deyed kyng ethulf / & his sone egbert reyned after hym / And after hym was athelberte kynge / & in y<sup>e</sup> thyrde yere of his regne deyde this blessyd byffhop faint fwythyne. And whā he fholde deye he charged his men to burye hym in the chyreheyerde for the peple shold

not worfhypp hym after his deth: For he loued no pompe by his lif/ ne none wolde he haue after his deth/ He passyd to our lord the yere of grace viij C & vj: And he laye in the chyrche er he was translated an C and ix yere/ & odde dayes: But in the tyme of holy kyngedgar his body was translated and putte in afhryne in thabbeye of Wynchestre by faint dunstone & ethelwold/ And the fame yere was faint edward kyng & martyr fhryned at fhaftefbury: These two byffhops dunston and ethelwolde were warned by our lorde to see that thyse ij holy faintes Swythyne and Edward fholde be worfhyppfully fhryned & so thei were wythin a fhort tyme after/ and an holy man warned ethelwold whyles he laye seke to helpe that thyse two holy bodyes myght be fhryned: And thenne he fhold be parfyghtly hool: & foo endure to his lyues end: and the token is: that ye shall fynde on faint fwythyne graue two rynges of yron nayled fast theron And affone as he fette honde on the ringes they come of/ of the ftone and no token was seen in the ftone/ where thei were fastened in/ And whan they had taken vp the ftone fro the graue/ they fette the rynges to the ftone agayn/ and anone they fastened to it by them self: And thenne this holy byffhop gaf lawde and prayfyng to our lord for this myracle And at the openyng of y<sup>e</sup> graue of faint fwythyne fuche a fwete odour & fauour yffued out that kyngedgar and alle the multytude of peple were fulfilled wyth heuenly fwetenes/ & a blynde man receyued there his fyght agayn/ & many men heled of dyuers fekenes and maledyes by the merytes of this holy faint/ Saint Swythyne: to whom late vs praye/ that he be oure aduocate to the good lorde for vs et cetera/

\* *rechelles*] This is for *rech-*, *retch-*, or *reck-*less. The *CIII*-form took by accident or caprice an initial *W*, and so formed *wretchless*, whence ‘*wretchlessness*’ in our xviiith Article stands for *carelessness*, *dissoluteness*. This fancy for the initial *W* was exercised in other words, as in the ‘*whole*’ of our Authorised Version, which is seen above in Caxton’s orthography as ‘*hooll*,’ and which still exists in the genuine form ‘*hale*,’ as in ‘*hale old age*.’ A. S. *hal*. Its effect in *wretchlessness* appears to have been deleterious, for it caused an inconvenient confusion with the totally distinct *wretch*, *wretched*, *wretchedness*, which has led to the disuse of the former. We now only possess the more genuine form *reckless*. The word *RECAN* = ‘to care for,’ was in full vigour in Saxon times: e. g.

Mark xii. 14. ‘*thou carest for no man*,’ is, *pu ne recest be anegum men*. Besides the passages cited in Richardson, *v. Wretchless*, there is a good instance of its use in Lady Anne Bacon’s Translation of Jewel’s Apology, Part i. “For men to be careless what is spoken by [*i. e. about*] them and their own matter, be it never so falsely and slanderously spoken, (especially when it is such that the majesty of God and the cause of religion may thereby be damaged,) is the part doubtless of dissolute and *wretchless* persons, and of them which wikedly wink at the injuries done unto the name of God.” The original has merely one epithet, “*hominum est dissolutorum*,” the native word acting as interpreter to the stranger that was afterwards to requite the service.

## VII.

*Extracts from Missals.*

From the Sarum Use. A. D. 1411. (Bodleian Libr. Rawl. C. 142.)

July 15. **TRANSLATIO SCI SWITHINI EPI ET CONFESSORIS.** *Officium.* Omnipotens sempiterne Deus qui hodiernam diem honorabilem nobis in beati Swithini confessoris tui atque pontificis sociorumque ejus translacione fecisti; da ecclesie tue in hac celebritate leticiam ut quorum veneramur solempnitatem in terris eorum intercessione subleuemur in celis, per &c.

Respice quesumus Domine populum tuum ad Tua sacramenta currentem in presenti festiuitate beati Swithini Confessoris tui atque pontificis sociorumque ejus et concede ut ipsis intercedentibus quod in honore Tui nominis detulerunt, cunctis prosit ad veniam.

Pignus in te capientes Domine humiliter imploramus ut intercedente beato Swithino confessore tuo atque pontifice cum sociis suis quod in ymagine contingimus sacramenti manifesta participatione sumamus, per &c.

From the Hereford Missal. cir. A. D. 1510. (Rotomagi.)

July 2. *Alia memoria de sancto Ssvithino.* Deus qui hodiernâ die sacratissimi nobis Ssvithini confessoris tui festiuitatem celebrare concedis; adesto propicius ecclesie tue precibus, ut cuius gloriamur meritis; muniamur suffragiis. Per &c.

*Alia postcommunio.*

Deus qui per sanctum confessorem tuum et antistitem Ssvithinum mederis languoribus infirmorum: concede per tuum adiuuamen et ejus intercessione presentis vitæ fungi salubritate; et ciuium supernorum societate. Per &c.

## VIII.

*Churches named after S. Swiðhun; gathered mostly from Ecton's Thesaurus.*

IN THE DIOCESE OF	PARISH OR PLACE.
Bath and Wells . . . . .	Bathford. Walcot.
Chichester . . . . .	East Grinstead.
Exeter . . . . .	Littleham, near Barnstaple ( <i>consecr.</i> 1319). Pyworthy, near Totnes. Sandford, near Exeter. Woodbury, near Exeter ( <i>consecr.</i> 1409).
Gloucester and Bristol . . .	Allington, near Bridport. Brokethorp. Hempsted. Quinton. Stanley St. Leonard's.
Hereford . . . . .	Clunbury. Ganerew.
Lincoln . . . . .	Asgarby. Bamburgh. Bicker. Dalby Magna. Lincoln. Longlednam. Old Weston. Sondhey, <i>alias</i> Sandy. Swanbourne.
London . . . . .	St. Swithin's ( <i>at London Stone</i> ).
Norwich . . . . .	Ashmenhaugh. Byntree. Norwich.
Rochester . . . . .	Chishall Magna.
Salisbury . . . . .	Compton Basset. Compton Bechamp. Hinton Parva. Putney. Twiford. Welford.

IN THE DIOCESE OF	PARISH OR PLACE.
Winchester . . . . .	The Cathedral. St. Swithin's (Kingsgate <i>olim</i> Chinget. <i>Bp. Henry of Blois's</i> Combe. [Survey]. Worthy Martyr.
York . . . . .	Estretford. Kirklington. Sprotley. Wellow. Woodburgh.

## NOTE.

This list is probably very far from perfect, but I do not know of any source from which it might be amplified. A classification of our religious edifices according to the saints whose names they have borne might possibly help to determine, in some cases, the length of the period during which particular names exercised an influence on the public mind.

## IX.

*Extract from John of Exeter.*

(Circa A. D. 1431.)

“S. Swithinus . . . sepultus est extra portam borealem navis ecclesie qui locus tunc indecens erat, modo verò ibidem quam pulchra capella in ejus honore constructa est.”—(Quoted by Professor Willis, on *Winchester Cathedral*, in the *Proceedings of the Archæological Institute*.)

## X.

(Strype, Cranmer ii. p. 709. from C. C. C. C. MS. Miscel. G.)

*An Inventory of the Cathedral Church of S. Swithins in Winchester, as it was given in, by the Prior and Convent, to Cromwell Secretary of State, and the Kings Vicar general over al Spiritual men.*

*And first of the things that are abroad in the Church.*

Imprimis, the nether part of the high Altar, being of plate of gold, garnished with stones. The front above being of brodering work and pearls, and above that a Table of Images of silver and gilt, garnished with stones.

Item, Above that Altar a great Cros, and an Image of plate of gold, garnished with stones.

Item, Behind the high Altar S. Swithens shrine, being of plate silver and gilt, and garnished with stones.

Item, In the body of the Church a great Cross, and an Image of Christ and Mary and John, being of plate silver and partly gilt.

Item, A cros of plate of silver and gilt with an Image over the Iron dore. And the two Images of Mary and John are but Copper gilt.

The Inventory of the Sextre.

*Jewels of Gold.*

Imprimis, There are in the Sextre five Crosses of gold, garnished with precious stones. And one of the five is but of plate of gold fixed upon Wood.

Item, One shrine of plate of gold garnished with precious stones.

Item, One little pair of Candlesticks of gold.

Item, One little box of gold with his cover to bear the H. Sacrament.

Item, Three chalices of gold, and one of them garnished with precious stone.

Item, One little pax of gold.

Item, One little sacring bel of Gold.

Item, Four Pontifical rings of gold with precious stones.

Item, One pectoral of gold set with stones.

Item, One pectoral, partly gold, partly silver, and gilt, set with stones.

Item, Two saints armes of plate of gold, garnished with stones.

Item, S. Philips foot, covered with plate of gold, and with stones.

Item, A book of the four Evangelists, written al with gold; and the utter side is of plate of gold.

*Jewels of Silver.*

Imprimis, One Table of our Lady, being of silver and gilt.

Item, Nine crosses of silver and gilt, and one of Cristal.

Item, One and twenty shrines, some al silver and gilt; and some part silver and gilt; and part copper and gilt; and some part silver and part ivory, and some copper and gilt, and some set with garnished stones.

Item, Twelve chalices of silver and gilt, belonging to the Sextre, and to the Altars, and chauntries founded in the Church.

Item, Four Paxes of silver and gilt belonging to the Sextre, and other Altars.

Item, Six casts of Candlesticks belonging to the Sextre, and the Chauntries, being of silver and gilt.

Item, One Candlestick of silver, belonging to S. Swithens shrine.

Item, Six pair of Cruits of silver belonging to the Sextre and Chauntries.

Item, Seven Censers of silver and gilt.

Item, Two Sarys, one of silver and gilt, and the other only of silver.

Item, Three pair of Basins of silver and gilt.

Item, Two Ewers, one of them silver and gilt, and the other only silver.

Item, Six Images of silver and gilt.

Item, One and thirty Collars, six of them garnished with plate of silver, and gilt, and stones; the residue of brodering work and pearls.

Item, Six pectorals of silver and gilt, garnished with stones.

Item, Three pastoral staves of silver and gilt.

Item, One pastoral staf of an Unicorns horn.

Item, Three standing Mitres of silver and gilt, garnished with pearls and precious stones.

Item, Ten old Mitres, garnished with pearls and stones, after the old fashion.

Item, One Rectors staf of Unicorns horn.

Item, Four Processional staves of plates of silver.

Item, Four sacring bells of silver and gilt, belonging to the Sextre and Altars.

Item, Nine pixes of Christal, partly garnished with silver and gilt.

Item, Seven tables with Relicks fixed in them; and four of them are of plate of silver and gilt, and the three other of copper and gilt.

Item, Five Saints heads, and four of them of plate of silver and gilt, and the first painted.

Item, Three Saints armes, two of them covered with plate of silver and gilt, and the third is painted.



Item, Seven books, the outer parts of them being plates of silver and gilt.

Item, One Book of K. Henry the Seventh's foundation, covered with velvet, and garnished with bosses of silver and gilt.

*Copys.*

Imprimis, One principal Cope of needle work, wrought with gold and pearles.

Item, One Chysible. Two Tymasyles, and parel of the Albes of the same work, of my L. Cardinal Beauford's gift.

Item, Eight and twenty other Copys of divers other works and colors, and divers mens gifts.

Item, Forty two Copys of tisshew : the one half of them blew, and the other of red.

Item, Twenty Copys of red bawdkyne, wrought with Connes.

Item, Eight white Copys. Four of them of White Velvet, and the other four of White Damask, brodered with white red roses.

Item, Eight and twenty Copys of White Bawdkyne, woven with copper gold.

Item, Nine and twenty Copys of blew silk, woven with rayes of gold.

Item, Thirty other Copys of divers colors and works; and many of them perished.

*Chysybils, Tynnikyls (Tunicles) and Stolys.*

Item, Imprimis, Eleven principal Chysybils with Tynnikyls, of divers sorts, and suites.

Item, Six and thirty old Chysybils of divers colors and works, and bene commonly used, and some of them perused.

Item, Fourteen stolys of needle work.

*Hangings for the Altars.*

Item, Eight divers hangings for the high Altar, some of them precious, and some of them of les value.

Item, One and twenty pair of Hangings for the Altars of the Church.

*Vestments, Albes, &c.*

Item, Twelve Albes of silk.

Item, Of linnin Albes, belonging to the Sextre and other Altars, 326.

Item, Vestments belonging to the Altars and Chauntries are of divers Values and works, to the number of twenty six.

Item, Corporowes cases, and Corporowes thirty six.

Item, Altar cloths of Diaper and linnin, One and twenty.

Item, Mas Books thirteen, belonging to the Sextre and Altars.

*The Inventory of our Ladies Chappel.*

Imprimis, Five little shrines of copper and guilt.

Item, Three chalices of silver and gilt.

Item, Two Paxes, one of silver and gilt, and the other of silver.

Item, Two pair of Beads, and silver and gilt, being but of ten stones a piece.

Item, Three chappels of divers suites.

Item, Two Copys of silk.

Item, Thirteen Albes, and three of them of white silk.

Item, Three Collars for the three Altars of silk, garnished with plate of silver and gilt, and with stones.

Item, Four Altar cloths of linnin.

Item, Two Altars of silk for the Altar.

*The Inventory of the Priors house.*

Imprimis, Six salts, with three covers of silver and gilt.

Item, Six spoons of silver and gilt.

Item, Five and twenty other spoons of silver.

Item, Three standing Cups; one plain, and other two swaged with their Covers of silver and gilt.

Item, Seven bollis of silver and gilt with one Cover.

Item, Six silver cupps with one Cover.

Item, Four nuts with three covers.

Item, Two Masers with one cover.

Item, Two silver Basins with their Ewers.

Item, Two Gallon pots of silver and gilt, to serve Peter and Paul.

Item, Two smal silver pots.

Item, Two chalices of silver and gilt.

*The Inventory of the Subpriors house.*

Item, Two salts of silver and gilt with a Cover.

Item, One little salt of silver with a Cover.

Item, Three silver peeces.

Item, Eighteen silver spoons.

Item, Three old Masers perused.

*The Inventory of the Hordars house.*

Item, Two Salts of silver and gilt with a Cover.

Item, One standing Nut with a Cover.

Item, Three silver peeces.

Item, Eighteen silver spoons.

Item, Three old Masers perused.

*The Inventory of the Fratrie.*

Imprimis, One standing Cup of mother pearle, the foot and Cover being of silver and gilt.

Item, Two great bollys of silver.

Item, One standing Cup of silver and gilt with his Cover.

Item, One standing Massar with a Cover of Wood.

Item, Three great bollis of Wood with bonds of silver and gilt.

Item, Seven and thirty silver spoons of divers fashions.

Item, Four old Massars perused.

## XI.

*Scraps from various sources.*

Anno 1599.

*From Ben Jonson's "Every Man out of his humour." Act i. Sc. 3.*

*Sordido (reading an almanack):* "O, here, St. Swithins, the xv day, variable weather, for the most part rain, good: for the most part rain; why, it should rain forty days after, now, more or less, it was a rule held, afore I was able to hold a plough, and yet here are two days no rain; ha? it makes me muse."

*From Hone's Every Day Book, July 15.*

In Poor Robin's Almanac (1697) are these lines:

"In this month is St. Swithin's day,  
 On which if it rain, they say,  
 Full forty days after it will  
 Or more or less some rain distill.  
 This Swithin was a saint, I trow,  
 And Winchester's bishop, also:  
 Who in his time did many a feat,  
 As popish legends do repeat.  
 A woman having broke her eggs  
 By stumbling at another's legs,  
 For which she made a woful cry,  
 St. Swithin chanc'd for to come by,  
 Who made them all as sound or more  
 Than ever that they were before.  
 But whether this were so or no  
 'Tis more than you or I do know;  
 Better it is to rise betime,  
 And make hay while sun do shine;  
 Than to believe in tales and lies  
 Which idle monks and friars devise."

*Gay (1688—1732).*

"Now if on Swithin's feast the welkin lours  
 And every penthouse streams with hasty showers  
 Twice twenty days shall clouds their fleeces drain  
 And wash the pavements with incessant rain.  
 Let not such vulgar tales debase thy mind,  
 Nor Paul nor Swithin rule the clouds and wind."

*From Brand's Popular Antiquities.*

“St. Swithin's day if thou dost rain,  
 For forty days it will remain;  
 St. Swithin's day if thou be fair,  
 For forty days 't will rain na mair.”

*Note.*—The reader who desires to follow out the subject, and to investigate the literary treatment of Saint Swiðhun down to our own day, may consult the following.—*Punch*, July 24, 1858: “Zong of Zaint Zwithun's Day (By a Ship of his Vlock).” It begins thus:

“Draa us up a drap moor liquor;  
 Tis the vifteenth of July.”

“A Legend of St. Swithin; a rhyme for rainy weather; with 12 illustrations by John Faed, Esq., R. S. A. 4<sup>to</sup>. Lond. 1861.”—This is a Scotch Temperance Rhyme, cleverly illustrated; but with nothing historical in it.

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*Postscripta.*

In the “*Anglia Sacra*,” vol. ii. p. 203. *note*, we read of a “Swithun senior SS. Dubricii et Davidis familiaris et literarum fama celeberrimus. De illo vide Galfridum Monumetensem Hist. Brit. ix. 12, et Giraldum Camb. in vitâ S. Davidis.” The historical position of Dubricius and David is almost parallel with Hengist and Horsa, and hence it is not likely that they had a learned friend of the Saxon name of Swiðhun. No doubt the name which ought to stand here is **Suibhne**, which occurs many times in the Irish Annals. It is curious to see how two historical personages, separated from one another by a wide space of time, may, after a second interval, be blended into one. The following passage of Giraldus Cambrensis (*Vita S. Davidis Menevensis*, p. 634) is an instance of the kind: “Sanctus autem Aidanus, qui et Hybernice Maidocus dicitur virtutibus insignis, et divinis affatim cruditus disciplinis, exin licentiâ primum a Patre dein fratribus acceptâ, cum omni benedictione Hyberniam petit. Ubi cum aliquamdiu signis et virtutibus claruisset; demum apud Fernas nobile monasterium construxit: in quo ad formam et regulam quam apud Meneviam a pio Patre didicerat, collectis in unum fratribus Domino deservire devovit. Processu temporis cum nocte Paschali orationibus consueto more Vir Sanctus insisteret, astitit ei Angelus dicens; Nescis, Aidane, quod patri tuo David crastina die a fratribus quibusdam venenum ad prandium apponetur? At ille respondens, Nescio, inquit. Cui iterum Angelus; Mitte ocius unum ex discipulis ad indicandum ei. At ille Nec navem, inquit, paratam habeo, nec aura concordat. Et Angelus; Discipulum tuum Swithunum ad mare quam citius mitte, et ego ei tam ventum quam vehiculum ministrabo.

Quo facto, cum Swithunus ad mare perveniens usque ad genua jam intrasset, assumptus à marinâ belluâ et miraculose transvectus, Patri periculum indicavit. Cumque die Paschali completis Missarum solemnitatibus in Refectorio ad cœnam consedissent, Diacono ex more ministrante panemque veneno confectum Patri apponente, surgens Swithunus qui et Scolanus dictus est, et postmodum in Wintoniensi ut perhibent cathedra sublimatus, Diacono cum confusione repulso; ego, inquit, hodie ministrabo. Sanctus autem Pater panem oblatum in tres dividi portiones fecit, et unam partem cani et alteram corvo tradi præcepit. Quibus devoratis, cernentibus cunctis statim expiravit uterque. Ipse autem Pater tertiam sumens partem coram omnibus benedicendo comedit intrepidus pariter et illæsus.”

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*Newspaper Extracts, July 1861.*

“ST. SWITHIN’S DAY.—The value to be placed upon the popular notion that if it rains upon the 15th of July it will do so for the 40 succeeding days may be learnt from the following facts, from the Greenwich observations for the last 20 years. It appears that St. Swithin’s day was wet in 1841, and there were 23 rainy days up to the 24th of August; 1845, 26 rainy days; 1851, 13 rainy days; 1853, 18 rainy days; 1854, 16 rainy days; and in 1856, 14 rainy days. In 1842 and following years, St. Swithin’s day was dry, and the result was in 1842, 12 rainy days; 1843, 22 rainy days; 1844, 20 rainy days; 1846, 21 rainy days; 1847, 17 rainy days; 1848, 31 rainy days; 1849, 20 rainy days; 1850, 17 rainy days; 1852, 19 rainy days; 1855, 18 rainy days; 1857, 14 rainy days; 1858, 14 rainy days; 1859, 13 rainy days; and in 1860, 29 rainy days. These figures show the superstition to be founded on a fallacy, as the average of 20 years proves rain to have fallen upon the largest number of days when St. Swithin’s day was dry.”

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“The value to be placed upon the popular notion that if it rains upon the 15th of July it will do so for the forty succeeding days may be learnt from the fact, from the Greenwich observations, that the average of twenty years proves that during the forty succeeding days there were most rainy days when St. Swithin’s day was dry. There had never been less than thirteen rainy days out of the forty, and never more than thirty-two.”

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*(These seraps are inserted, not from a notion that the subject requires scientific investigation, but merely as contributions to the folk-lore associated with the name of Swiðhun. The same remark applies to a few other pieces which have no intrinsic recommendation.)*



pces genypped 7 mid spate 7 hefiglice geomrode of hære heortan oðp  
 nyste. Ða he hine færinga bereah. þa gesahte unmet se mycel nyste  
 leon wð hære halgan lichaman standan. 7 his fet lastas liccienoe. Ða  
 pearð he afyrht forþa ge þæs unmetan wileoþes. ealra swyðost forþa  
 þe þ halige wif hū to cyþ heo næfre hæri nan wileoþ ne ge sare. Ac he hine  
 sona mid rode tacne gepæpnode. mid gepyste gupienoe þ hine unge  
 oþwone gehætoe þ ma gni þæs licgemoan. Ðaongan se leo fægman wð  
 þæs ealdan pearo. 7 hine mid līhū se yrungū grette. Lo 7 mī þa soðlice to þā  
 leonan cþ. Eala þumæsta wileoþ. Gýrdu swā goe aseo come to þam  
 þ þu þisse halgan goðes þeowens lichaman eorðan beræste. gefyl nu þ þeowic  
 þin se þenunge. Ic wit soðlice mid ylde gepæht oelþan ne mæg ne naht  
 gehyðer habbenoe þis þeowic to begangenne. ne ic efstan ne mæg swa  
 mycðes wð fæter hioer to þunganne. Ac þu nu mid hære godcunðan  
 hære þis þeowic mid þinū clifpū do þ þe þis ne halgan lichaman eorþan  
 beræsten. Mid þā soðlice æfter þas halgan worðū. Se leo mid his eawmū  
 secef gepohte. swa mycel swa geniht sumode hære halgan lichaman  
 to byrgelre. Se ealdra soðlice mid his eawmū þe ne halgan fet þ pol.  
 7 mī. þo wð a gte nū be nū mænt gealdlice bæd þ heo for eallū þin goe. 7 swa  
 ðone lichaman mid eorðan oþer swaah swa na code swa swa he hū ærest ge  
 mette. butan gealden þæs to slenan hradges þe his eawmū hipe to swa  
 mid þā maria sume his lichaman līmu beræste. 7 hī ða æt gedere þā  
 cýwōn. Se leo on þinre pesten gepac swa swa þ miltofte lamb. 7 to swa to līf  
 mynscne geystwe god wileoþne 7 blaet sienoe 7 mid lofū he sienoe. Sona  
 swa he to þā mynscne beco swa þe he he hēo eallū of frymde ealle þu þis an  
 7 naht ne be oðrode ealra þe swa þinga þe he ge seah oððe gehyrwe þ hū ealle  
 goðes mæra purðodon 7 mid ege 7 lufan 7 mid dangel eafan mærisodon  
 hære eawgan forð þe oððe lohis wileoþe se abb on gax sume þa mynscen  
 þu nu to gepulwame swa swa se w halig. ær þe se se ðe. ac he þa sona gode  
 fulumienoe geuhte. 7 to swa on þā mynscne oþroht mienoe hū to teontag  
 geara gefylde. 7 þa to wileoþ ne mid sibbe leowe. wileoþ se yrungū wileoþ ne

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# GLOUCESTER FRAGMENTS.

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II.

LEAVES

FROM AN ANGLOSAXON TRANSLATION

OF THE LIFE OF

S. MARIA ÆGYPTIACA,

WITH A TRANSLATION AND NOTES,

AND A

PHOTOZINCOGRAPHIC FACSIMILE

EXECUTED AT THE

ORDNANCE SURVEY OFFICE, SOUTHAMPTON.





## S. MARIA ÆGYPTIACA

is a character in early hagiology, which bears a near resemblance to that of S. Mary Magdalene\*, as the latter appeared after the handling of tradition and legendary art. In both, the central idea is emancipation from gross sin, to a life of sustained holiness. But in the story of S. Maria Ægyptiaca, the contrast is pushed to the utmost, and is enhanced by detail and exaggeration. The narrative, which exists both in Greek and Latin, runs thus. Zosimas was a monk in one of the monasteries of Palestine. The brotherhood to which he belonged had the following rule for keeping Lent. Taking with them a small supply of food, they went out into the wilderness, wandering apart from one another, and thus in entire solitude, and retreat from worldly distractions, they passed the season of repentance and mortification. It happened that Zosimas, being thus alone in the desert, and having seen no being for many days, was suddenly struck with the appearance of a dark figure passing along at some distance before him. He followed, it fled. But he gained on the apparition, and as he was overtaking it, the voice of a woman appealed to him, to give her some clothing, before he came nearer. He then rent his mantle, and threw her a large part of it. She put it about her, for she was naked, and blackened with the vicissitudes of the weather. She then addressed Zosimas by his name, and thus fixed his veneration for her as a prophetess. After a pious contention as to whether of the twain were the more qualified to bless the other, she by her apparent spiritual gifts, or he by his clerical function—she yields on the principle of *obedience*, and becomes absorbed in silent prayer, during which Zosimas sees her lifted off the earth and suspended in the air, while she conversed with heaven. This ecstatic scene is followed by one of a different character. Zosimas hears her confession; and it is in this manner that the story of her life is introduced. After a course of early profligacy in Egypt, she went on board a ship at Alexandria that was bound for Palestine with pilgrims to the Festival of the Holy Cross. Her only impulse was to share the throng and the excitement. She continued in her evil courses until the hour when she joined the multitude that was crowding to the solemnity. She entered the court or outer yard of the church, and was borne along by the current towards the door of the building. But here her progress was stayed. Those who were on either side of her moved on and passed the door—she alone continued in her place. She resolved to advance, but some mysterious power restrained her. This miraculous repulse brought on reflection, and then compunction, and she vowed to the Blessed Virgin, whose effigy looked

\* In a Litany (Bodl. Miscell. Liturg. 104) they are put in the same category, thus: Omnes sancti monachi et heremitæ; Orate pro nobis.

Sea Maria Magdalena; Ora pro nobis.

Sea Maria Ægyptiaca; Ora pro nobis.

Sea Felicitas; Ora &c.

forth upon her from the wall of the church, that if she might be admitted to approach the Holy Cross, she would spend the rest of her life in mortification and penance. The resolve formed, and the vow uttered, she entered the church without impediment. Having satisfied her aspirations, and concluded her devotions, she went forth under the guidance of the Blessed Virgin into the desert. From that time to the encounter with Zosimas was 47 years; and Zosimas had now been providentially sent to her that he might minister to the spiritual necessities of one so long severed from the congregation of the faithful. She appointed him a place to meet her again at that time in the following year, that he might administer the Eucharist to her; and this second meeting having taken place, a new engagement was made for the year succeeding. On this third occasion, Zosimas found S. Maria dead at the place of rendezvous. His presence was required only to preside at her funeral. A lion stood near the corpse, and the beast, at the command of Zosimas, scooped out a grave for the saint. When all was done, Zosimas and the lion parted company; and Zosimas returning to his monastery, told all the tale, including some injunctions which the saint had given him for his Abbot, to correct the abuses of his house.

This narrative grew up under the strong asceticism of the age of Jerome, and five centuries later became one of the feeders of a kindred spirit in English Christianity. The fragments of a Saxon translation which are here printed are very unskilful, and betray throughout the Latin original. The archaic forms of the penmanship, as well as of many of the expressions employed, combine with the rudeness of the translation to render it probable, that these fragments belong to the earliest Saxon essays in this branch of literature. However this be, they are curious and interesting as specimens of the devotional reading of a certain class of minds in the tenth century, and as relics of a popular literature of which the mass has perished.

The name of S. Maria Ægyptiaca continued to keep its place in our insular hagiology, and there is a metrical Life of her in the volume described above at p. 82. The following is a specimen:

Seinte Marie Egipthake. in Egipth was ybore

Al here 3onge lyf hy ladde in synne & in hore

vnneþe hy was twelf 3er old. er hy gan do folyc

\* \* \* \* \*

It ys synne & shame to eny man. to þenche op' to wyte

þe foule dede & þe wrecche synne. þat we fyndeþ of her' y wryte

Ffor al so hy sede hire self. þat shame it was to hure

So moche synne on erthe ydo of eny creature

And þat þe erthe yopened nadde. as hy hir self gan telle

And yswolwe as hy 3ede on erthe in to þe put of helle.

The three leaves on S. Maria Ægyptiaca which are preserved at Gloucester are so many disjointed fragments of the story of her Life. By way of expressing this, I have called the two pages of the first leaf, G and H; those of the second, M and N; and those of the third, Y and Z. These letters are intended, by their relative distances in the alphabet, to represent the places of these fragments in the connected narrative.

The leaves are considerably mutilated, and parts of the text are wanting. This has been supplied in some measure, the emendations being distinguished in type. Italics are used to mark such additions as are not doubtful, or, in some cases, partially visible—but all additions of a conjectural nature are enclosed in brackets. In certain places where the text remains imperfect, the sense has been completed in the translation, from the Latin original, in *Vitæ Patrum* (Rosweyd). The Latin title stands as follows: *Vita S. Mariæ Ægyptiacæ quæ Peccatrix appellatur, auctore Sophronio Ierosolymæ Episcopo: interprete Paulo Diacono Sanctæ Neapoleos ecclesiæ.* The Greek Life is entitled: *Βίος Μαρίας Αἰγυπτίας τῆς ἀπὸ ἐταιρίδων ὁσίως ἀσκησάσης κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον τοῦ Ἰορδάνου.* The Greek form of the monk's name was *Zωσιμῆς*.

The Life closes on the top of page Z, and the blank space was filled up many years later by the beginning of a summary of Christian duties, probably excerpted from a book of monastic rule. The language is about parallel to that of the Chronicle under 1102.

*his onfeng and hire lichaman oferwreah be þam [dæle þe hire]*  
*mæst neod wæs to oferhelianne. and heo ða hi to [Zosim' cyrde and cwæð]*  
*Hwi wæs þe la abb' Zosim' swa mycel neod me s[ynful wif to seonne]*  
*oððe hwæt wilnast ðu fram me to habbenne. oððe*  
*for minum þingum. He ða sona hine on 5*  
*eorðan strecca[n ongan and hire bletsun]ga bæd. ongan þam heo eac hi astrehte*  
*and his bletsunga wilnode. Ða æfter manegra tida fæce cwæþ þæt wif to Zosimum*  
*þe gedafenað abb' Zosim' to gebiddanne and to bletsianne forðam þe ðu eart*  
*underwreþed mid þære sacerdlican are. and ðu eart tellende Cristes gerynu*  
*mid þam gyfum his godeundlicnesse and his þam halgan weofode manegum gearum 10*  
*þeowiende. Ða word witodlice ongebrohton Zosime mycelne ege and fyrhto*  
*and he wæs geondgoten mid þæs swates dropung. Ða ongan he sprecean*  
*swa swa callinga gewæced and þam orðe belocen and þus cwæþ. Eala ðu gastlice mo*  
*ðor geswutela nu hwæt þu sy of ðære gesihðe. forðam þe þu eart beforan*  
*drihtne gefungen and of þam strengran dæle þisse worulde dead gefremed 15*  
*for þam geswutelað on þe seo godeunde gyfu ealra swyðost þæt ðu me be naman*  
*nemdest. þone þe þu næfre ær ne gesawe. Ac forðam þe seo gyfu ne bið na*  
*onenawen of þ geuuna is hi to getaenienne of þære*  
*sawle ic abeode. and syle me þæt beþearflice*  
*gebed þinre fulfremednyse. Ða ongann heo embrowian þæs ealdan wi 20*  
*san staðolfæstnyse. and cwæþ. God sy gebletsod sawla hælo tiliend.*  
*Zosime<sup>as</sup> andswarode. Añ. Ða arison hi buta of ðære eorðan. þa ongan*  
*[get] þæt wif sprecean to þam ealdan and ðus cwæþ. Eala man for hwylere wisan*  
*come þu to me synfulre. Swa þeah hwæðre forþam þe þe seo gyfu þæs*  
*haligan gastes to þam gerihthe þæt ðu hwylee þenunga minon lytlan licha- 25*  
*man to gehyðnyse gegearwige. Sege me hu nu todæge on middan earde*  
*Cristes folc sy gereht. and hu ða caseres oððe hu is nu gelæswod seo heord*  
*Cristes rihtgeleaffullan gesamnunga. Zosim' hire andswarode. Eala þu*  
*halige modor þinum halgum gebedum God hæfð forgyfen staðolfæste sibbe.*  
*muneces. and for drihtne 30*

took hold of it and her body swathed about the [*part that she*]  
 most needed to conceal; and she then herself to [*Zosimas turned and said:*]  
 Why hadst thou, O Abba Zosimas, such great need [*to see me a sinful woman*],  
 or [*what seekest thou of me*] to have, or

for my sake. He then forthwith himself on  
 earth prostrated, [*and of her a blessing*] asked: whereupon she eke herself prostrated,  
 and his blessing requested. Then after many hours' space quoth the woman to Zosimas:  
 To thee it appertaineth, Abba Zosimas, to pray and to bless, forasmuch as thou art  
 authorised by the priestly honour, and thou art a preacher of Christ's mysteries  
 with the gifts of his divinity, and at his holy altar for many years  
 serving. These words verily brought upon Zosimas great awe and fright,  
 and he was suffused with the sweat dropping. Then began he to speak  
 as if utterly exhausted, and in his breath tied, and thus quoth: Oh! thou spiritual mo-  
 ther, manifest now what thou art of sight; forasmuch as thou art before  
 the Lord esteemed, and, for the most part, to this world thou art become dead:  
 for this reason appeareth in thee the divine grace, especially that thou me by name  
 named'st: one whom thou never before sawest. But forasmuch as grace is not  
 known from personal dignity, but is wont to shew itself by the  
 soul's [*activity, I beseech thy blessing*], and give me the needful  
 prayer of thy perfection. Then began she to compassionate the old wor-  
 thy's steadfastness, and said, God be blessed, who careth for the salvation of souls.  
 Zosimas answered, Amen. Then arose they both from the earth: then began  
 the woman to speak to the old man, and thus said; Oh man, for what purpose  
 camest thou to me sinful? But, however, forasmuch as the grace of the  
 Holy Spirit hath directed thee that thou some service to my poor bo-  
 dy's accommodation should'st accomplish. Tell me how, now-a-days, in the world  
 Christ's people are governed, and how the emperor's,—or how is now fed the flock  
 of Christ's right-believing congregation. Zosimas her answered: Oh thou  
 holy mother, to thy holy prayers God hath given permanent peace.  
 [*But tender the consolation of an unworthy*] monk, and for the Lord's sake

*middan* earde and for me synfullum þæt me ne wurðe ge  
*geswinc* þises sið fætes. and se weg swa myccles west  
[*enes.*] [gedaf]enað abb' Zosim' for me and for eallum gebiddan  
*fórðam* þe [sacerdh]ade swaswa ic ær cwæp and for þam  
þe we habbað þæt gebod h[yrsumnysse] 5  
willan ic do. and þus eweðende hi to þam *g upahafenum* eagum  
on þa heahnysse and aþenedum earmum ongan gebiddan mid þære welera *sty-*  
*rungum* on stilnesse swa þæt ðær næs eallinga nan stemne gehyred þæs þe  
man ongyten mihte ; þæs gebedes eac swylce Zosim' nan þing ongytan  
ne mihte. He stod witodlice swaswa hesylf sæde byfiende and þa eorþan 10  
behealdende. and nan þing eallinga spreccende. He swor witodlice God him to  
gewitan on his wordum foresettende þæt get þa þa heo þus on þære  
gebedes astandendnysse he his eagan lythwon fram þære eorðan  
upahof þæt he geseah hi upahefene swaswa mannes elne fram þære  
eorðan. and on þære lyfte hangiende gebiddan ongan. Ða þa he þis geseah 15  
þa wearð he gegripen mid mycelre fyrhto. and hine þa on eorðan *astreht*  
te and mid swate ofergoten wearð and swiðlice gedrefed. naht geþrystlæhte  
specan. butan wið him sylfum þæt *án Ða þa he on þære*  
eorðan læg *astreht* þa *g hwon*  
hit gast wære þæt ðær mid hwylcere hiwunga gebæde hi. Heo ða þæt wif 20  
hi bewende and þone munuc uparærde þus eweðende. To hwy gedrefest þu  
abb' þine geþohtas to geæswicianne on me swylce ic hwylc gast syr-  
wiende gebedu fremme. Ac wite þu man þæt ic eom synful wif. Swa þeah  
hwæðere utan ymbseald mid þam halgan fulluhte. and ic nan gast ne *com*  
ac æmerge and axe and eall flæsc and nan gastlic [Ða heo ðus cw]æp heo 25  
hire andwlitan gebletsode mid þære halgan rode taene. and hire eagan and we-  
leras and eac hire breost mid þære bletsunga heo getrymede and þus cwæð  
God us alyse abb' Zosim' fram urum wiðerwinnan and fram his anbrin  
gellan forðam þe his æfst is mycel ofer us. Ðas word se ealda hy-  
rende hine adune as[trehte] 30



[pray for all the] world, and for me sinful, that to me may not be [rendered fruitless the] toil of this journey, and the way of so great a wilder- [ness. She answered him; It] becometh thee, Abba Zosimas, for me and for all to pray [being invested with priesthood], as I before said. [But since thou biddest], and forasmuch as we have the order of obedience, thy will I do: and thus saying, she [turned to the East, and] with uplifted eyes towards heaven and with outstretched arms began to pray with the lips' motion in silence, so that there was not at all any voice heard as far as one might perceive; of the prayer accordingly Zosimas nothing understand might. He stood indeed, as he himself said, trembling and the earth beholding; and nothing at all speaking. He swore verily, setting before him GOD as a witness to his words, that while she yet thus [continued] in the perseverance of prayer, he his eyes momentarily from the earth upraised, that he saw her uplifted, as it were a man's ell, from the earth, and in the air hanging engaged in prayer. When he this saw then was he seized with great fright, and himself on the earth prostrated and with sweat suffused was, and vehemently agitated, nought durst he speak, but with himself this only; [Lord have mercy on me.] While he on the earth lay prostrate, [he had misgivings of mind, doubting whether] perchance it were a ghost that there to all appearance was praying. She then, the woman, turned about and lifted up the monk, thus saying: Wherefore alarmest thou Abba, thy thoughts to misdoubt about me, as if I, some ghost, illusory prayers were enacting. But know thou, man, that I am a sinful woman: withal, however, indued with holy baptism: and I no ghost am, but dust and ashes and altogether flesh, and no spiritual . . . . As she thus spake, she blest her face with the holy rood-token, and her eyes and lips and eke her breast with the blessing she fortified, and thus said: GOD us deliver, Abba Zosimas, from our adversary and from his instigations, for his spite is great towards us. These words the old man hearing, himself adown stretched

weardre heortan heofiende forðbrohte þa geomerlican siccetunge.  
 Ða geseah ic of þære stowe þe ic onstod þære halgan Godes cennestran  
 anlicnyse standende. and ic cwæþ to hyre geornlice and unforbugendlice  
 behealdende: Eala þu wuldorfæste hlæfdige þe ðone soðan God æfter  
 flæsces gebyrde acendest. geara ic wat þæt hit nis na gedafenlic ne þæslic 5  
 þæt ic swa grimlice forworht þine anlicnyse bidde oððe gesceawie.  
 mid swa mænigfealdlicum besmitenum gesihðum. þu wære symle fæmne  
 oncnawen · and þinne lichaman hæbbende clænne and unwæmme. forþam  
 witodlice genoh rihtlic is me besmitene fram þinre clænan unge-  
 wemmednyse beon ascunod and fram awurpon. Ac swa þeah hwæðre 10  
 forðam þe ic gehyrde þæt God wære forði mann gefremod þe þu sylf  
 acendest to þam þæt he ða synfullan to hreowsunge gecigde. Gefultma  
 me anegra ælces oðres fylstes bedælede. forlæt me and me þa leafe  
 forgyf to geopenienne þone ingang þinre halgan cyrcan. þæt ic ne beo  
 fremde geworden þære deorwurþan rode gesihðe on þære gefæst- 15  
 nod wæs calles middan cardes Hælend. þone þu fæmne geeacnodest  
 seðe his agen blod ageat for minre alysednyse. Ac hat nu þu wuldor-  
 fæste hlæfdige me unmedemre for þære godcundan rode gre-  
 tinge þa duru beon untyned. and ic þe me bebeode and to mundbyrdnyse  
 geccose wið þin agen bearn. and ine bam gehate þæt ic næfre ofer þis me 20  
 ne besmite þurh þæt grimme bysmergleow þæs manfullan geligeres.  
 Ac sona swa ic þu halga<sup>c</sup> fæmne þines sunu<sup>a</sup> rode geseo. ic sona wiðsace  
 þisse worulde and hire dædum mid eallum þingum þe on hire sint. and syððan  
 fare swa hwyder swa þu me to mundbyrdnyse gerecst. Ðus cweþende  
 ic wearð onæled mid þære hæto þæs geleafan and mid þam truwan æthri- 25  
 nen. and be þære arfæstan Godes cennestran mildheortnyse ic me  
 of ðære ylean stowe astyrode þæt\* ic þis gebed cwæþ. and ic me þa eft to þam  
 ingangendum gemengde. Syððan næs nan þing þe me utascufe oððe  
 me þæs † dura bewerede mid þam ingangendum. Ða gegrap me witod-  
 lice s                    fyrhto and ic wæs eall byfiende gedrefed. Ða ic me þa 30

\* þe ic me *in margin*.† *Corrected* þære.

disposed heart grieving brought forth the sorrowful lamentation.

Then saw I, from the spot whereon I stood, sanctæ DEI genitricis (i. e. *the B. Virgin's*) likeness (i. e. *image*) standing. And I quoth to her earnestly and unflinchingly

beholding: Ah! thou glorious ladye quæ verum DEUM after

fleshly birth didst bear. Well I wot, that it is not allowable nor becoming

that I, so hideously corrupt, should thy likeness petition or behold

with so variously begrimed looks. Thou wast ever a virgin

known; and thy body preserving clean and unsoiled. Wherefore

assuredly it is quite just for me polluted, from (= by) thy clean un-

soiledness to be rejected and cast away. But nevertheless

forasmuch as I have heard that GOD was to that end made man (Whom thou self

didst bear) in order that He might call the sinful to repentance: help

me, of all other support destitute: allow me, and me the permission

grant, to open the entrance of thy sacred church; that I be not

excluded from the sight of the precious cross, on which fast-

ened was the Saviour of all the world; whom thou a virgin didst conceive;

Who His own blood did shed for my redemption. But command thou now, glor-

ious ladye, for me unqualified to greet the divine rood,

the doors to be unclosed. And I offer myself to thee, and for my patron

I choose thee, towards thine own child; and to you both I promise that I never hereafter myself will pollute through the hideous delusion of guilty intercourse.

But as soon as I, O thou holy Virgin, thy Son's rood see; I immediately renounce

this world and its doings with all things that in it are; and then

I will go whithersoever thou my refuge directest. Thus speaking

I became kindled with the heat of faith and with trust was I touch-

ed: and by the elemency of the gentle DEI genetrix I me

from that same place stirred where I had uttered this prayer. And I then again with

those who were entering mingled. Afterwards was there nothing that out-shoved me or

repelled me from the door, in the midst of the enterers. There seized me how-

ever           fright, and I was all trembling disturbed. When I me then

to þære duru gefyðde þe me wæs ær se ingang belocen. swylce me eall  
 þæt mægn þe me ær þæs inganges bewerode æfter þan þone ingang gerymde  
 and swa ic wæs gefylled mid þam gastlicum gerynum innon þam temple and ic wæs  
 gemedemod to gebiddanne þa gerynu þære deorwurðan and þa liffaestan  
 and ic þær geseah þa halgan Godes <sup>ge-</sup>rynu hu he symle is geare his þa hreow- 5  
 sicndan to underfonne. Ða wearp ic me sylfne forð on þam corðan. and þa  
 halgan flor cyssende utode. Ða becom ic eft to þære stowe þe ic ær þære  
 halgan Godes cennestran anlicnyse geseah. and mine encowa gebigde  
 beforan þam halgan andwlitan þisum wordum biddende; Eala þu fremsu-  
 mesta hlæfdige þe me þine arfestan mildheortnyse ær æteowdest 10  
 and mine þa unwurðan bena þe fram ne awurpe. Ic geseah nu þæt wuldor þe we  
 synfulle mid gewyrhtum ne geseoð · wuldor sy ðam Ælmihtigum Gode  
 se ðe þurh þe onfehð þara synfulra and forworhtra hreowsunga and dæd-  
 bota. Hwæt mæg ic earne forworht mare gepencan oððe toareccanne\*.  
 Nu is seo tid to gefyllenne and to fremmanne swaswa ic ær cwæð þinre þære 15  
 licwurðan mundbyrdnyse. Gerece me nu on þone weg þe þin wylla  
 sy. Beo me nu hælo latþeow and soðfæstnyse ealdor me beforan  
 gangende on þone weg þe to dædbote gelæt. Ða ic þus cwæþ · þa gehyrde ic  
 feorranne ane stemne clypiende. gyf þu Iordanem þæt wæter oferfærst  
 þær þu gemetest gode reste. Ða ic þas stemne gehyrde and for minon 20  
 ðingon ic ongeat beon geclypode. Ic wepende spræc and to þære halgan  
 Godes cennestran hawiende eft clipode. Eala þu hlæfdige calles middan-  
 eardes ewen þurh þa callum mancynne hælo to becom · ne forlæt me nu. Ðus  
 eweþende ic utode of þæs temples cafertune. and ofstlice fôr. Ða gemette  
 ic sumne man þe me þry penegas scalde mid þam ic me þry hlafas bohte. 25  
 þa ic me hæfde genoh gehyðe to mines siðfætes geblædfæstnyse.  
 Ða axode ic þone þe ic þa hlafas æt bohte hwyle se weg wære þe to Iordane  
 þære éa ealra rihtost wære · þa ic þone weg wiste ic wepende be ðam siðfæte  
 arn symle þa axunge þære æscan to ge wriðende. and gemang þam þæs dæges  
 siðfæc † wepende gefylde. witodlice þæs dæges wæs *undern*[*tid þa þa ic*] 30

\* The corrector here added *ne* and underlined *oððe*, clearly meaning to omit it.

† Probably this is an error for the familiar compound *siðfæt* = a *journey*. *Siðfæc*, however,

to the door pressed whereof the ingress was before barred against me, it was to me as if all that force which before prevented my entrance, had after that set the ingress free, and so I was filled with the spiritual mysteries within the temple; and I was made meet to pray the mysteries of the precious and <sup>of the</sup> life-securing *cross* And I there saw the sacred mysteries of GOD, how He always is ready His penitents to receive. Then cast I myself forth on the earth, and the holy floor kissing, I went out. Then came I again to the place where I before the holy DEI genitricis effigiem saw; and my knees I bowed before the holy countenance, with these words praying; Ah! thou perfectest ladye, who to me thy benign clemency before displayedst and my unworthy petitions didst not cast from thee. I saw but now the glory which we sinful deservedly do not see,—glory be to the Almighty GOD, who through thee accepteth of the sinful and undone their regrets and penance. What can I, sadly undone, more think upon or rehearse [*cor. think to rehearse*]? Now is the time to fulfil and to perform, as I before spoke to thee, my admirable protectress. Direct me now on the way that thy will is. Be to me now salvation's leader and truth's director, before me going, on the way that to penance leadeth. As I thus spoke, then heard I from far a voice crying; If thou Jordan water overpassest there thou findest good rest. When I this voice heard, and for my sake I understood it to be uttered, I weeping spake, and to the holy DEI genitrici looking responded; Ah! thou ladye, of all the world queen, through whom to all mankind salvation came, forsake me not now. Thus saying, I went out of the temple's court, and hastily departed. Then met I a man who me three pennies gave, with which I me three loaves bought; then I had for me enough provision for my journey's sufficiency. Then asked I him, whom I the loaves bought of, which was the way that to Jordan the river was directest of all. When I the way knew, I weeping upon my journey ran, continually adding asking to asking: and on this wise the day's journey weeping I fulfilled. Now it was the third hour of the day when I

though unknown elsewhere, *might* be intended, and is quite intelligible. *Fæc* is *time*; and as far as the English version is concerned, the same word *journey* would be used in either case.

wæs genyrwed and mid swate and hefiglice geomrode of þære heortan deop-  
 nysse. Ða he hine færinga beseah. þa geseah he unuætre mycelnysse  
 leon wið þære halgan lichaman standan. and his fet lastas licciende. Ða  
 wearð he afyrht for þam ege þæs unuætān wildeores. ealra swyþost for þam  
 þe þæt halige wif him to cwæð þæt heo næfre þær nan wildeor ne gesawe. Ac he hine 5  
 sona mid rodetaene gewæpnode. mid gewisse truwende þæt hine unge-  
 derodne geheolde þæt mægn þæs liegendan. Ða ongan seo leo fægnian wið  
 þæs ealdan weard. and hine mid liþum styrungum grette. Zosim' þa soðlice to þam  
 leonan cwæþ. Eala þu mæsta wildeor · Gyf ðu fram Gode asend come to þam  
 þæt ðu þisse halgan Godes þeowene lichaman eorðan befæste. gefyl nu þæt weorc 10  
 þinre þenunge. Ic witodlice mid ylde gewæht delfan ne mæg ne naht  
 gehyðes habbende þis weorc to begangenne. ne ic efstan ne mæg swa  
 myceles siðfætes hider to bringanne. Ac þu nu mid þære godcundan  
 hæse þis weorc mid þinum clifrum do. þæt wit þisne halgan lichaman eorþan  
 befæsten. Mid þam soðlice æfter þas halgan wordum. Seo leo mid hire earmum 15  
 scræf geworhte. swa mycel swa genihtsumode þære halgan lichaman  
 to byrgelse. Se calda þa soðlice mid his tearum þære halgan fet þwöh ·  
 and mid forðagotenum benum mænigfealdlice bæd þæt heo for eallum þingode. and swa  
 ðone lichaman mid eorðan oferwreah swa nacode swa swa he hi ærest ge-  
 mette. butan gewealden þæs toslitanan hrægles þe hire ær Zosim' hire to wearp. 20  
 mid þam Maria sume hire lichaman limu bewæfde. and hi ða ætgadere þanon  
 cyrdon · Se leo on þæt inre westen gewat swa swa þæt mildoste lamb. and Zosim' to his  
 mynstre gecyrde God wuldriende and bletsende and mid lofum heriende. Sona  
 swa he to þam mynstre becom swa rehte he heom callum of frymðe calle þa wisan  
 and naht ne bediglode ealra þæra þinga þe he geseah oððe gehyrde þæt hi ealle 25  
 Godes mærdā wurðodon and mid ege and lufan and micclan geleafan mærsodon  
 þære eadigan forðfore dæg. Ioh's witodlice se abb' ongeat sume þa mynster-  
 wisan to gerihtanne swaswa seo halige ær foresæde. ac he þa sona Gode  
 fultumiende gerihte. and Zosim' on þam mynstre drohtniende hundteontig  
 geara gefylde. and þa to drihtne mid sibbe leorde. Wuldor sy urum drihtne 30

was anxious and with sweat and heavily he groaned from the heart's deepness. When he of a sudden looked about him, then saw he an immense lion by the saint's body standing, and its foot-soles licking. Then was he affrighted for the awe of the huge wild beast; especially because that the sainted woman had said to him, that she never there any wild beast had seen. But he him quickly with the sign of the cross fortified, confidently trusting that him unharmed would keep the worthiness of the deceased. Then began the lion to fawn to the old man -ward, and him with gentle movements greeted. Zosimas then verily to the lion quoth: Oh! thou chief wild beast; If thou, from GOD sent, hast come for this that thou should'st commit to earth the body of this sainted handmaid of GOD, fulfil now the work of thy service. I verily with age weighed down cannot delve, nor aught requisite have I this work to undertake: nor I cannot speed so great a journey, to bring (implements) hither. But thou now by the divine hest, this work with thy claws do; that we-two this holy body to earth may commit. With that, in sooth after the holy man's words, the lion with her arms wrought a pit, as large as sufficed for the saint's body's burial-place. The old man then soothly with his tears the saint's feet washed; and with outpoured prayers repeatedly prayed that she for all would intercede; and so the body with earth (he) covered, as naked as he her first had met, but for large part of the rent garment, which to her Zosimas erewhile had cast, wherewith Maria certain of her body's limbs had wrapped. And they then together thence returned. The lion to the inner desert departed like the mildest lamb; and Zosimas to his monastery returned, glorifying and blessing and with praises magnifying GOD. As soon as he to the monastery arrived, forthwith related he to them all, from the beginning, all the particulars, and naught concealed of all the things that he saw or heard, so that they all revered GOD's mighty works, and with awe and love and much faith celebrated the blessed woman's departure-day. Moreover John, the abbot, found some of the monastery-officers needing correction, just as the holy woman before predicted. But he them quickly by GOD's assistance corrected; and Zosimas in the monastery serving a hundred years completed, and then to the Lord in peace departed. Glory be to our Lord

hælende Criste. Seðe leofað and rixað on ealra worulda woruld a butan ende. Amen.

Ærest mon sceal God lufian of ealre heortan. and of eallum mode. and of eallum mægene and æfterþon his nehstan swaswa hine silfne. Ne sceal mon mann slean. ne on unriht hæman. ne stelan. ne unalyfedlice g'lustfullian. ne leasunga secgan. ac ælcne mann mon sceal á weorþian. and ne sceal nan mann don oðrum þæt he nelle þæt him mon do. Mon sceal his agnum lustum wiðsacan. and folgian Cristes lare. His lichoman g'hwa sceal clænsian. þæt is mid forhæfdnesse wyldan. Estmettas na to grædiglice ne sceal mon lufian. ac fæsten mon sceal lufian. Untrume g'neosian. and deade bebyrgan. geswenctum helpan and sargiende fréfrian. and fram weorldwylhungum hine sceal g'hwa fremdian. and nanðing beforan Cristes lufe settan. Yrre ne sceal mon fulfremman. Yrsunge tide ne sceal mon g'healdan. Facn ne sceal mon on heortan g'habban. Lease sybbe ne sceal mon syllan. Soðe lufe ne sceal mon forlætan. Swerian ne sceal mon. þe læs mon forswerige. Soðfæstnysse of heortan and of muðe mon sceal symle forð bringan. Ne sceal mon yfel mid yfele gildan. ne nanum menn nænne teonan don. ac þonne him mon yfel do. he hit sceal geþyldlice forberan. His fynd mon sceal lufian for Godes lufon. Ða wyrgendan · ne sceal mon na wyrgean. ac ma bletsian. Ehtnysse for rihte. mon sceal eaðmodlice g'þolian. Ne sceal mon beon ofermod ne drunkengeórn. ne oferæte. ne to slapol. ne sláw. ne gnornigende. ne tælcende. ac ealne his hopen he sceal habban on God. Þonne he hwæt gódes déð. þonne sceal he þæt eall tellan to Gode. and þonne he hwæt yfeles deð. he sceal witan þæt þæt cymð of him silfum. Domesdæg he sceal symle g'þencan. and hellewitu he him sceal on drædan. And þes ecan lifes he sceal mid ealre geornfulnisse gyrgan. and ælce dæg he him sceal deaðes wénan. His weorca he sceal gyman on ælce tíde. þæt þa góde sýn. and he sceal g'þencan þæt he nahwær Gode digle ne bið. ac þæt he hine æghwar g'sihð. Ða yfelan g'þohtas þe him on mod becomað. he sceal sona on Criste toslean. and his gastlican lareowe andettan. Þonne he hi toslieð on Criste · þonne



Saviour Christ; Who liveth and reigneth for ever and ever, world without end. Amen.

First, one must love God with all the heart, and with all the mind, and with all the strength, and after that his neighbour as himself. We must not man slay; nor unrightfully cohabit; nor steal; nor enjoy forbidden pleasure; nor leasings say. But every man we are bound ever to respect, and no man ought to do to other that he would not that to himself it be done. One ought his own lusts resist, and follow Christ's teaching. His body each one ought to keep clean; that is with abstinence control. Delicate meats too greedily must one not love: but fasting one ought to love: to visit the infirm, and bury the dead: to help the afflicted, and console the sorrowing; and from worldly desires should each himself alienate; and set nothing before Christ's love. Wrath must one not fulfil: Anger must not be retained for hours; Guile may we not in heart entertain; Feigned friendship must we not give; Sincere love may we not discontinue; We should not swear, lest we forswear: Truthfulness of heart and of mouth ought we always to bring forth. We may not evil with evil repay, nor to any man any injury do; but when one him evil does, he it shall patiently forbear [= endure]. His enemies one must love for God's love. Those who curse, may we not curse, but rather bless. Persecution for right, one ought meekly to suffer. One must not be overbearing, nor fond of drunkenness, nor over-eating, nor too sleepy, nor slow, nor murmuring, nor complaining; but all his hope he should have on God. When he aught of good doth, then should he that all attribute to God; and when he aught of evil doth, he should know that that cometh of himself. Doom's day he ought ever to consider, and hell-pains he should dread. And the eternal life he should with all diligence aspire to; and each day he shall bethink him of death. Of his works he shall be careful at all times, that they be good; and he shall consider that he nowhere is unseen of God, but that He him every where seeth. The evil thoughts that come into his mind, he shall at once, in Christ, quell; and to his spiritual director confess. Then he them quells in Christ, when

## NOTES.

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- Page 102, line 9. underwreped] propped up, supported, and so, *authorised*. In the *Vita*, "tu enim presbyterii honore *fultus* es." In Exodus xvii. 12, where Aaron and Hur stayed up the hands of Moses, it is in the Saxon version: "Aaron and Ur underwripedon Moises handa."
- Page 102, line 14. geswutela nu &c.] My version is not more obscure than the Saxon. The Latin is clearer: "Manifesta jam quidem es ex ipsa visione," which means, as I suppose, "Now I plainly perceive what you are, even by eyesight."
- Page 102, line 15. of jam strengran dæle] This is mere verbal interpretation, of "et fortiori parte mortua es."
- Page 102, line 19. The Latin runs thus: . . . gratia non ex dignitate cognoscitur sed ex animarum actibus significari consueta est, benedic propter Deum, et orationem tribue indulgentiæ tuæ perfectionis. Stabilitati autem senis sancti compassa &c., which latter word is expressed by *embrowian*, i. e. *efen-prowian*, an imitative compound, after *com-patior*.
- Page 102, line 21. sawla hælo tiliend] qui salutem procurat animarum.
- Page 102, line 22. Zosime] The corrector had the true form of the name *Zωσιμᾶς*.
- Page 102, line 25. Supplied by the help of the Latin and the *apices* of some of the letters. The Latin is: Tamen quoniam quidem te gratia Spiritus Sancti direxit ut aliquod ministerium exhibeas meæ exiguitatis corpori *congruum*, i. e. to gehyð-nysse. Cf. N, line 26, and note.
- Page 102, line 30. The Latin here is: Sed suscipe indigni monachi consolationem et per Dominum ora pro omni mundo et pro me peccatore ut non hujus cursus et itineris labor sine fructu mihi efficiatur tantæ solitudinis viâ. Et illa respondit ad eum: Te quidem oportet abba Zosima, sacerdotii ut dixi habentem honorem pro omnibus et pro me orare; in hoc enim et vocatus es. Sed quia obedientiæ præceptum habemus, quod mihi à te jussum est, bona faciam voluntate.
- Page 104, line 11. He swor] Jurabat autem Deum testem verbi proponens . . .
- Page 104, line 14. swa swa mannes elne] quasi cubitum unum: *eln* and *elngemet*=*ulna*, *ulnæ* mensura. Lit. the length of the *ulna* or fore-arm in a man.
- Page 104, line 15. lyfte] *Lift* is still used in the Scotch, and some other dialects, for *the air*, *the upper regions*.
- Page 104, line 15. ongan] This can hardly be the well-known preterite of *onginnan* (as Y, line 7, and oft); for if so, we have a strong anacolouthon. The choice lies between this and the infinitive *ongan* for *ongangan*=*ingredi*, *procedere*; a rare word, but perfectly suited to the sense and the syntax of this place. Taken thus, *ongan* would be an infinitive dependant from *geseah*. "He saw her uplifted . . . and as she was hanging in the air, going on with or continuing in prayer." Our want of an infinitive form disables us from rendering the distinction between the *participles* of the agent's condition (*upahefene* . . . *hangende*) and the *infinitive* of the main action. In *Cædmon* 3085 (p. 187. Thorpe) we read forð *ongangan* of the approach of Pharaoh's army.
- Page 104, line 17. naht gebrystlæhte] This *naht* here is not what it became later, the verbal negative *not*, but the substantival negative *nought*. Not merely *non*, but *nihil*.
- Page 104, line 19. Scandalizabatur in mente putans ne spiritus esset, qui se fingeret orare.
- Page 104, line 22. to gæswiciaune on me] scandalizari in me: cf. Mat. xi. 6. Saxon version.
- Page 104, line 23. syrwiende gebedu fremme] fictam orationem facio.
- Page 104, line 25. . . . favilla et cinis et totum caro et nihil spiritualis phantasie aliquando vel ad mentem reducens. Hæc dicens, signo crucis signat frontem suam &c.
- Page 104, line 28. anbringellan] This is rather a desperate conjecture, there being no such word known as *anbringella*, the assumed nominative of the above.

The Latin has "et immissionibus ejus,"—and the mutilated Saxon page gives **anbr** . . **gellan** quite distinctly. The lost part occurs at the end of a line, so that it is not certain how many letters have perished: but the lines above having generally lost two or three letters, the same is probably the case here. (The *cwæð* of the line above would have been written *cw̄*.)

Anbringellan would be a derivative from **on-bringan**, instigare; and the noun would mean *instigators*, or more generally, *emissaries*.

Page 104, lines 29, 30. Hæc audiens senex prostrernit se et apprehendit pedes ejus, dicens cum lacrymis &c. Then she enters upon her confession. This is in the middle of Cap. xi. (Rosweyd.)

Page 106, line 3. unforbugendlice behealdende] indeclinanter attendens. Cap. xvi.

Page 106, line 7. mid swa mænigfealdlicum besmitenum gesihðum &c.] . . . me sic horridam adorare imaginem tuam vel contemplari *oculis, tantis sordibus pollutis*, quæ esse virgo dignosceris et casta, quæ corpus et animam habes immaculatam; justum est me luxuriosam à tuâ purissimâ &c.

Page 106, line 9. genoh rihtlic] *quite just*. This adverbial use of **genoh**, = *enough*, is not frequent in written Englisc. It was in familiar use, but was not received in literary composition. In the reconstruction of the 13th and 14th centuries, it appears with an excessive frequency, as above, page 78, lines 9, 17, &c. Many of its combinations have survived to our own day, e. g. *well enough, glad enough, ready enough, good enough*, &c. It has an abundant use in Danish, where the form is **nok**. To such an extent have the adverbial powers of **nok** been enlarged, that it is the most ubiquitous expletive in the language. It fills the office of the German *welt*; and as a German says, *Ja welt*—so a Dane says, **Ia nok**. And this is but one of its many functions.

In Boethius xi. § 2. **genoh** occupies a sub-adverbial position: *genoh sweotole gesæd* = "clearly enough said."

Page 106, line 19. mundbyrdnysse] *protection, advocacy, patronage*. Again at line 24. This word is (apparently) an addition to our Saxon Vocabulary. Ettmüller (p. 220) gives **mundbyrd** and **gemundbyrdan**, but no **mundbyrdnys**. For a full explanation of this historical word, see Schmid's Glossary to the "Gefüge der Angelsachsen," sub v. **Mund** and following words.

Page 106, line 21. bysmergleow] Another new word.

It is compounded of **bysmer** = *insolence, mockery*; and **gleow** = *joy, sport*, which still exists in **glee**.

Page 108, line 16. licwurðan] Not a common word, but one that expresses a distinct idea, "worth liking,"—it answers etymologically to *amiable*, but in use it corresponds more nearly to *admirable*. Our native compounds have been driven out by French substitutes, and we have no trace of this word in the present English. The German has one very analogous, *liebenswürdig*.

There was a large and respectable family of derivatives from **lician**, *placere*; **licung**, *voluptas*, &c.; but through neglect they came to vile uses, and then were abolished from conversation and literature. Such are *licorous, lecherous, lecher, lechery*, &c., wrongly derived in the Dictionaries.

Page 108, line 26. gehyðe] Another rare word. It is the collective of **hyð** = *commodum*, of which we find the abstract **gehyðnys** on G, line 26. The Latin here is, . . . dicens, Accipe hæc nonna. Ego autem accipiens, tres ex eis panes comparavi, et hoc accepi benedictioni mei itineris *congruos*: cf. Y, line 12, where it refers to implements *requisite* for digging.

Page 108, line 26. geblædfestnysse] This again is a rare compound—*geblædfæst* is found in *Cædmon*, p. 6, l. 15 (Ed. Thorpe); line 89 (Ed. Bouterwek); where I would render, not exactly *frugifer, fruitful*, as the Editors; but rather, *flourishing*.

Page 108, line 29. Here begins Chap. xviii of the Latin: "Interrogationi autem interrogationem annectens, reliquum diei consumpsi iter properans, erat autem hora diei tertia quando pretiosam et sanctam erucem videre merui."

Page 110, line 1. In the fragment of a sentence with which this page opens, Zosimas is in trouble about the interment of S. Maria *Ægyptiaca*. "Laborabat enim et suspiriis nimiis urgebatur et sudoribus madefactus ingemuit graviter ex ipso cordis sui profundo." Cap. xxvi. mid.

Page 110, line 1. and mid swate] Here, I suppose, a word has escaped the scribe or the translator. It should be *mid swate ofergoten*, or some such word, to answer *maderfactus*.

Page 110, lines 7, 8. wið þæs ealdan weard] to- the old man -ward; i. e. toward the old man. This tmesis of **toward** is common in Englisc, and has continued down to near our own times. It may be traced in our Bible in the phrases "*to God ward*," Exod. xviii. 19; 2 Cor. iii. 4; 1 Thess. i. 8: —"*to you ward*," 2 Cor. xiii. 3; Eph. iii. 2.

- Page 110, line 9. *mæsta wildeor*] maxime ferarum.
- Page 110, line 12. *ne naht gehyðes habbende*] nec congruum quid habeo: cf. N, line 26, and note.
- Page 110, line 12. *efstan*] cf. Luke xix. 5, 6. Zacheus, *efst to þinum huse*; forþam þe ie wylle to-dæg on þinum huse wunian. Da *efste he*, and hine bliþe-lice onfenge. Zacheus, *haste to thine house*; for I will to-day abide in thine house. Then *hasted he*, and him blithely received.
- Page 110, line 20. *butan gewealden*] cf. Chron. X. 894. *buton swiþe geweldenum dæle easte weardes þæs folces*.
- Page 110, line 21. *bewæfde*] An uncommon word—the best known branch of it is *wæfels* = a cloak. The analogous Gothic form *bivaibjan* occurs in the Gospels in a precisely parallel use. Mark xiv. 50. *περιβεβλημένος*: *bivaibiþs leina ana naqadana*, i. e. amictus lino super nudo; where also the Saxon has, *mid anre scytan bewæfed*, *nacod.*—xvi. 5. *περιβεβλημένον*: *bivaibidana vastjai weitai*, i. e. amictum veste albâ. Luke xix. 43, of a siege, *περικυκλώσουσι*: *jah bivaibjand þuk allapro*, i. e. et circumdant te undique. *Ulfilas, by De Gabelentz and Loebe.*
- Page 110, line 26. *Godes mærcða*] magnalia Dei.
- Page 110, line 28. *wisan*] If it were not for the terms of the original, I should have taken this for the plural of the fem. *wise-an* = *way, manner, fashion, habit*; pl. *wisan* = *mores*. Thus *mynster-wisan* would be the *discipline* of the monastery, and this would harmonise with the context. But the Latin speaks of correcting *persons*, “*invenit quosdam*

- indigentes emendari . . . . convertit*,” where the Saxon is, “*ongeat sume þa mynster wisan to gerihtanne . . . . gerihite*.” The verbal precision of this translation leads me to believe that here we have not the fem. *wise-an*, but the masc. *wisa-an*, *dux, rector*, master. It is a word not otherwise found in prose, as far as I know, but the antiquated character of these fragments justifies the supposition that it is intended here. Further, it clears off a difficulty in G, line 20, where we have *þæs ealdan wi..*; the completion of the fragmentary word is doubtless *-san*.
- Page 112, line 3. *Ærest*] The Æ is not in the MS., the scribe having left space for an ornamental initial.
- Page 112, line 3. *mon secal*] “*man shall*” would not be English, unfortunately. In losing the pronominal use of “*man*,” the language has been impoverished. In German it has been preserved, with advantage, “*man fell*.” We are reduced to the alternative of “*one ought*,” or “*you ought*,” “*you must*,” neither of them satisfactory. Perhaps the true modern idiom is to use “*we*.”
- Page 112, line 4. *mon mann*] Here we see that the pronominally used ‘*man*’ made to itself a distinct orthography from the nominal or substantival. In fact, ‘*mon*’ was an antiquated spelling which proved convenient as a distinction for the pronoun. On the other hand, ‘*mann*’ expresses by its more positive vowel and its doubled -n, the emphasized word, *hominem*. Compare line 6, *ælene manu mon &c.*

END OF PART II. ON SANCTA MARIA ÆGYPTIACA.

FINIS.











**FOR REFERENCE**  
**NOT TO BE TAKEN FROM THIS ROOM**

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